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THE EMPEROR *MARCUS ANTONINUS* HIS CONVERSATION With HIMSELF:

Together with the

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE OF THE Learned *GATAKER.*

As also,

The EMPEROR'S LIFE;

Written by Monsieur *Dacier*, and Supported by the Authorities collected by Dr. STANHOPE.

To which is added

The Mythological Picture of CEBES the *Theban*, &c.

Translated into *English* from the Respective Originals,

By JEREMY COLLIER, M. A.

The THIRD EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON;

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THE PREFACE.

THE *Emperour's Life*, *and* Gataker's *Introductive* Diſcourſe *being annex'd, there's no Neceſſity for a long* Preface: *For there the Reader will find an Account of the Authour both as to Principles and Perſon. However, a Word or two of each may not be amiſs.*

1. *As to the* Stoicks *notwithſtanding their Advantage of other* Sects, *they were not without their Miſtakes. For Inſtance; They believ'd a Plurality of Gods, that the Soul was a part of the Deity, and that their wiſe Man might diſpoſe of himſelf, and make his Life as ſhort as he pleas'd. Theſe, with ſome other leſs material Errors, I have marked in the* Margin.

'Tis true, 'tis objected againſt the Stoicks *that they allowed no Degrees in ill Practice, but made all Faults equal; that they held Compaſſion an Infirmity, and would not ſuffer it in the Character of an improv'd Philoſopher; that the Happineſs of a Wiſe Man depended purely upon himſelf, and that there was no Neceſſity of addreſſing a* Superiour Being.

To anſwer this Charge Monſieur D'acier *obſerves, that* Zeno's *Opinion (the Founder of the Sect,) was*

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fair, and defensible in these Points: That he was misunderstood by some of his Scholars, and unreasonably strain'd up to the Letter. *But there's no need to insist any farther upon justifying; for I don't remember our Authour is at all concern'd in this Matter.*

To proceed therefore to the Emperour with Reference to his Book.

His Thoughts then are noble and uncommon, and his Logick *very true and exact. He generally flies his Game Home, seldom leaves his Argument till he brings it to a Demonstration, and has pursued it to its first Principles.* Seneca *has a different Manner, and moves more by start and sally: He flashes a Hint in your Face and disappears; and leaves you to carry on the Reasoning, and master the Subject, as well as you can. This looks like an Apparition of Philosophy, and is sometimes more surprizing than Instructive: (Tho' this Remark has no Reference to the excellent* English *Abstract, which is differently managed from the Original.) But as for the Emperour he charges through and through, and no Difficulty can stand before him. His Reason is no less irresistible than his Arms, and he loves to conquer in his* Closet, *as well as in the* Field. *There's a peculiar Air of Greatness and Gravity in his Discourses: He seems to think up to his* Station, *and writes with that Magnificence of Notion, as if he believ'd himself obliged to exceed other Authours, as much in the Vigour of his Mind, as in the Lustre of his Fortune.*

He appears to have thought to the Bottom of his Argument, and to have had a comprehensive View of the World, of the Interest and Relations of Society. *Hence it is that his Morality is so particularly serviceable and convincing, that his Sentences are so weighty, and his Reasoning so very just. By thus digging to the Foundation, He's in a Condition to assign every thing*

its

its true Grounds, and set every Duty upon its proper Basis. Farther, the great Probity of this Prince, his Fortitude, and the Nobleness of his Mind, gave Freedom and Spirit to his Thoughts, and made him exert for the Service of Principle and Truth. Besides, he seems to have been born with a Prerogative of Nature, bless'd with a superiour Genius, and made up of richer Materials for Sense and Virtue, than other People. These Advantages, together with an improv'd Education, rais'd him to that Pitch of Majesty and Distinction, and made his Pen *almost equal to his* Scepter.

How does he despise the Pursuits of Fame, and the glittering Objects of Ambition! And that in no empty Rhodomontades and Tumour of Expression. No, he pulls off the Paint, discovers the inward Coarseness, and brings such Evidence of the Insignificancy of these things, that he perfectly commands the Reader's Assent, and forces him into his own Opinion. Now an Emperour's Argument against a Fondness for Pleasure *or* Power, *comes better recommended than from a private Philosopher: For in this Case a Man speaks from Experiment, and disputes against the Privilege of his Condition: Here the usual Pretence of Envy, or Ignorance is out of Doors; and nothing but Dint of Reason could drive him upon so unacceptable a Conclusion.*

The Generosity of his Principles are no less remarkable. He shews the Iniquity of a selfish Temper; that ill Nature is a Contradiction to the Laws of Providence *and the Interest of Mankind; a Punishment no less than a Fault, to those that have it. All the great Offices of Humanity, Justice, and Acquiescence are enforced with unusual Advantage: His Turns of Reason being often as surprizing for their Strength, as for their Novelty. In short, abating for some of the Errours above-mention'd, he seems to have drawn up*

an admirable Scheme of Natural Religion: And which is still more commendable, he practis'd his Maxims *upon himself, and made his Life a Transcript of his Doctrine. He was so great a Lover of Truth and clear Dealing, that he would rather have lost his Empire than strain'd a* Principle. *Indeed Falshood and Legerdemain sink the Character of a Prince, and make him look like a Royal* Jugler: *Publick Character, and* Common Good, *as they call it, are no sufficient Defence in such Cases.* Sixtus *the Fifth, who must be allowed a great Man, us'd to say, That 'twas short Thinking which made Conscience impracticable, and* Politicks *fall foul upon* Morals: *that if* Statesmen *were well qualified, and work'd their Heads, there would be no Occasion for* Latitude, *and Insincerity. Reason without doubt, well manag'd, would fence against Inconvenience much better than* Craft: *In earnest, 'twould be a very hard Case, and a great Reflection upon Providence, if Men could not be happy without breaking their Faith and blemishing their Honour. However, to say nothing more, some People are too lazy to be honest. But this Custom apart, there's no Necessity to make* Reasons of State *incompatible with the Laws of Justice; our Emperour is a noble Instance to the contrary. For never were the Functions of Peace and War better perform'd, the Subject more easy, and the Empire more flourishing than under this Prince: and yet 'twas none of his Way to indulge his* Politicks, *and warp in the least from his Notions. 'Twas his constant Practice, as well as his Rule,* If 'tis not Just never do it; If 'tis not Truth never speak it.

As to the Emperour's Way of writing, if any one objects against his sometimes coming over again with the same Thing, he may please to consider that this Prince did not take Philosophy *for mere Diversion, and Amusement: Instruction was his main Design:*

Upon

Upon this View 'twas not improper to repeat the Stroak, to make the Impression go deeper. The Prejudices the Emperour disputes against are inveterate, and not to be remov'd without Difficulty: And if one Dose won't cure the Patient, why should not the Bill *be made up again? If this Rule holds in* Medicine, *why not in Morality? Are not Peoples Understandings as valuable as their Health? And is not a Disease in the Passions much worse than one in the Constitution? And after all, when the Matter is closely examin'd, the Ground of the Objection will in a great Measure vanish. For when the Emperour does come over with an old Thing, 'tis his Custom to improve upon't. He repeats, but 'tis for Advantage to the Argument, and his latter Thoughts are generally Supplemental to the former. He either extends the Notion, or reinforces the Proof, or gives a new Turn of Strength and Beauty to the Expression. And thus the Reader is always a Gainer by the bargain.*

In Translating the Author, *I have made use of the* quarto Edition *publish'd in* 1697. *In which besides* Gataker's *Annotations, I had the Assistance of* Monsieur D'acier's *Remarks, turn'd into Latin by Dr.* Stanhope. *As for his* French Translation, *I never saw it till some time after my own was finish'd, and part of it printed off: However, one thing I shall observe, and which is the only use I have made of* Monsieur D'acier's *Translation: 'Tis his Remark upon* Sect. VI. Book I. *where citing* Pollux, *he tells us* that the *Romans* in Imitation of the *Greeks*, us'd to fight *Quails* for Divination, as well as Diversion; and had a fancy their own Fortunes might be prognosticated by the Success of the Battle. *This piece of Superstition I confess was more than I was aware of, and yet by the* Context, *the Emperour seems to have had it in his View.*

One

One Word more, of the Emperour's Style, *and I have done: Now his way of expreſſing himſelf is extraordinarily Brief: His Words are ſometimes over-burthen'd with Thought, and have almoſt more Senſe than they can carry. Indeed, 'twas part of his* Character *to write in this conciſe Manner; for neither the* Emperour *nor the* Stoick *would allow of any length of Expreſſion. Beſides, he wrote chiefly for himſelf, which makes him ſtill more ſparing in his Language. He ſometimes draws in Little, writes his Meaning as it were in* Short-hand, *and does not beat out his Notions to their full Proportion. To which I may add, that ſometimes the height of his Subject carries him almoſt out of Sight: For there is an Obſcurity in things, as well as in Language. For theſe Reaſons 'tis no wonder if we find his Senſe now and then a little perplex'd: And therefore where I was afraid the* Reader *might poſſibly be at a Loſs, I have endeavour'd to direct him right by a Note in the* Margin: *I have likewiſe in ſome few Places ventur'd to throw in a Word, or two, to make the Text more intelligible: But when this Liberty was taken, I have been always careful to ſpeak the Emperour's Mind, and keep cloſe to the Meaning of the* Original.

GATA-

GATAKER's

Preliminary Diſcourſe.

IN WHICH

The Principles of the Stoicks *are compared with the* Peripateticks, *with the Old* Academicks, *and more eſpecially, with the* Epicurean *Sect: The remaining Writings likewiſe of the* Stoick *Philoſophers*, Seneca, Epictetus, *and particularly thoſe of our Emperour* Marcus Antoninus, *are briefly examined.*

THIS the Opinion of ſeveral *Chriſtian Writers* that the Principles of the *Stoicks* come nearer the Doctrines of the *Goſpel*, than any other *Sect* of the *antient* Philoſophers. *Joſephus* likewiſe who was a Phariſee by Perſuaſion, (which St. *Paul* calls the ſtraiteſt Sect of the Jewiſh Religion[a]) affirms that *the Sect of the* Phariſees *reſembled that of the* Stoicks *among the* Greeks[b]: And to come within the pale of the

[a] *Acts* xxvi. 5. [b] *Joſeph.* in vita ſua.

Church,

Church, St. *Hierom* is positive *that the* Stoicks *agree with the Tenents of Christianity in most Points*[c]. And that they agree with us in many Things is past all Dispute, as will appear to any Person that will be at the pains to compare the *Moral Precepts* of the one *Persuasion* with those of the other. Indeed I think there's no Division of the *Pagan* Philosophy which reaches up to the *Stoicks*. To speak modestly, there's no *Sect* that I know of, that sets a greater Value upon Virtue and Religion, drives the Notion higher, discovers more of good Earnest and Bravery, presses the Practice with more Spirit and Argument, and promotes it with more Warmth of Inclination.

To make this Truth more evident, 'twill not be improper to compare the Philosophy of the *Stoicks*, with the most considerable Pretensions of those of another Way. And here I shall wave the mention of *Pythagoras*'s mystick, or rather magical *System*[d], of which there are only some broken Remains come to our Hands: For the *Golden Verses* which go under *Pythagoras*'s Name, are of the same stamp with *Phocylides*'s *Monitory*, both of them forg'd and counterfeit. And as for the Slovenliness, Smut and lewd Practice of the *Cynicks*[e], they don't deserve the Honour of a Competition. And here, by the way, *Juvenal* was much mistaken in saying that the *Cynicks* differ'd from the *Stoicks* in nothing *but in wearing fewer Cloaths*[f]; Whereas the *Stoicks* hated the *Cynical* Uncleanliness both in Habit and Behaviour, as highly scan-

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[c] In *Esaiam* Comment. cap. 11. [d] See *Pythagoras*'s Life written by *Laertius*, lib. 8. and by *Jamblicus*, and in the Life of *Jamblicus*, by *Eunapius*. [e] See *Dioprus* Orat. 6. in Diogen. & Laert. lib. 6. in Diogen. [f] *Juven.* Sat. 13.

dalous and dishonourable to humane Nature [g]. 'To return, neither do I think the *Scepticism* of the *new Academy*, worth the bringing into the *Lists*: For what Regard is to be had to those People that distrust their *Senses*, and destroy the Grounds of all *Science?* that degrade a Man from the Privilege of his Reason, make his Body and Soul insignificant, and neither allow him Eyes, nor Understanding to any Purpose?

I shall therefore proceed to those *Sages* who have been more happy in their Pursuits of *Wisdom*, who have cultivated Philosophy better, been better follow'd, and gain'd more Credit in the World. And here I shall begin with the *old Academicks*, and *Peripateticks*, who were *Plato*'s Disciples: And since these two *Sects* are the same in their *Tenents*, and differ only in their *Names*, and the *Places* where they first set up [h]; I shall for Brevity sake join them both together. Under this *Distinction Aristotle* was the most eminent Person. He was indeed a very extraordinary *Genius*, [i] run through *Logicks*, *Rhetorick*, *Poetry*, *Politicks*, *Œconomicks*, *Ethicks*, and *Physicks*, and perform'd Wonders upon almost all the parts of Learning and Philosophy [k]; insomuch that as far as we can guess by what is *extant*, the World is more oblig'd to his *Pen*, than to all the *old Authors* put together. 'Tis true, some give him this Character with an Exception of Preference for *Plato* his Master [l]. But these Criticks seem to mistake the Drift of *Plato*'s Writings: It being not so much the Design of this great Man to treat the Principles of Science,

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[g] *Laert.* lib. 7. *Epictet.* Dissert. lib. 4. cap. 11. *Senec.* Epist. 92. [h] The first studied in the *Academia*, and the other in the *Lycæum*: *Cicer.* Acad. lib. 1. [i] *Averroes* in procem. Physic. [k] *Cicer.* Acad. lib. 4. [l] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 1.

and

and leave us a Body of Learning, as to combat the *Sophists* of his own Time [m]: For this Purpose he disputes under the Person of *Socrates*, and makes it his main Business to refute the Fallacies, to pull off the Mask, and expose the Trifling of these Pretenders in Philosophy. And working upon this View, he was oblig'd to take a Compass in his Reasoning, to run out into seeming Digressions; and carry the Dispute to a vast length. And tho' the Connexion is true and artificial, yet 'tis wrought in so fine, that the Reader has sometimes much ado to keep Sight of the main Argument. 'Tis granted a Man is not apt to tire upon the Journey: There's great Variety of Invention; the Style is entertaining, and the Tale very handsomely told; but then the Cause is so bandied from one Hand to another [n], and pleaded with so much Colour and Contradiction, that 'tis somewhat difficult to come at the Truth, and know on which side the Verdict ought to be given.

And since *Aristotle* is more clear and intelligible, we shall apply to him for his Opinion concerning the Precepts of Life: This Philosopher therefore shall represent his *Clan*, and deliver the Sense of the old *Academicks* and *Peripateticks*. Now *Aristotle*, as *Plato* did before him, ranges the Notion of *Advantage* under three Heads, and throws it into the Divisions of *Mind*, *Body*, and *Fortune*. 'Tis true, he gives the Preference to the First, but then he lays great stress upon the two Latter, and makes them contribute very considerably to the Satisfaction of Life [o]; insomuch

[m] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 2. [n] *Cicer.* Acad. lib. 1.
[o] *Arist.* Ethic. Mag. lib. 1. cap. 2. Idem Ethic. *Eudem.* lib. 6. cap. 13.

that

that he won't allow the best Man living to be happy if either his Health, or his Pocket, are out of order [p], especially if he falls into any remarkable Calamity: This Weight of Adversity is too much for the Mind, and forces a Man's Virtue to grow uneasy: It makes a breach in his Enjoyment, and crushes his Happiness to pieces [q].

This is *Aristotle*'s Opinion: But the *Stoicks* would not so much as grant Wealth or *Constitution*, any Consideration in this Case, nor vouchsafe to admit any thing *without* the Mind, into the Distinctions of *Good*, or *Evil*. With this *Sect* the Circumstances of *Flesh* and *Blood*, and the Condition of *Externals*, were but a sort of Indifferent Matters, and signified little either one way, or t'other. For in their Philosophy nothing was *Good*, [r] but what was *Pious*, *Just*, *Honourable*, and *Humane*: Nor any thing *Bad* excepting what was *Wicked*, *Unjust*, *Inhumane*, and *Scandalous*. And for this Reason, [s] they look'd upon *Fools* and *Knaves*, *Atheists* and *Libertines*, *no better than miserable Wretches*, tho' they were never so well accommodated in their *Purse*, *their Cartas*, *or their Quality*. And on the contrary, [t] that a *Man of Virtue and Piety is always in a State of Happiness*, *let his Circumstances be what they will*, *and himself never so much haras'd with the pretended Evils of Life*. And lastly, [v] that none but a Person of his Character can with any Propriety *be said to be Wise*, *to be rightly Free*, *and Master of himself*: *And being always the Favourite of Heaven*, *and the particular Care of Providence*;

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[p] *Cicer.* de Fin. lib. 2, *Aristot.* Ethic. Magn. lib. 2. cap. 8. [q] *Aristot.* Ethic. *Nicom.* lib. 1. c. 10. Idem Magn. lib. 6. cap. 13. [r] *Laert.* lib. 7. *Zeno.* *Senec.* Epist. 71. [s] *Senec.* Epist. 120. & Ep. 82. *Ambrof.* Offic. lib. 2. c. 3. [t] *Senec.* Epist. 91. [v] *Epict.* Dissert. lib. 1. cap. 9.

he

he is the only Body that lives undisturb'd, and is out of the Reach of Fear, and Anxiety. For let him live, or dye, [w] *the Deity he resigns to, will never suffer him to fall into a real Disadvantage;* [x] *so that 'tis impossible for him ever to be wretched, or uneasy, or to meet with any thing big enough to throw him out of his Satisfaction.* These are the generous Principles of the Stoicks, in which, *as they* overshot the *Peripatetick*, and *old Academick Sect*, so they must be said to approach nearer to the true Greatness of the *Christian Religion.*

I confess I am not altogether of [y] *Tully*'s and St. *Augustin*'s [z] Mind, who will have it that these two *Sects* are agreed in the Thing, and differ only in the wording their Opinion. Such a perfect Accommodation is, I think, prov'd impracticable by *Tully* himself in the Person of *Cato* [a]: However, I am so far of this great Orator's Opinion, that the Contest between the *Stoicks* and *Peripateticks*, was very honourable [b]: The Dignity, and Supremacy of *Virtue* was granted on both sides; the only Dispute was whether 'twas sufficient to do a Man's Business alone; and make him happy in spite of every thing beside. But then to make no Difference between *Zeno*'s *Cloyster*, and the *Gardens* of *Epicurus*; to compare the Men of Liberty, with the great Champions for *Virtue* and Self-denial, and to bring *Pleasure* and *Discipline* into a Competition, this looks like a very unhandsome, and unreasonable Fancy. [c] For all that, some have

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[w] *Plat.* Apol. *Socrat. Cic.* Tusc. lib. 1. *Epictet.* Dissert. lib. 3. c. 26. [x] *Epict.* Enchir. c. 52. Dissert. lib. 3. c. 22. *Senec.* Epist. 107. [y] *Cicer.* de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. De Finib. lib. 4. [z] *August.* de Civit. Dei, lib. 9. c. 4. [a] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 3. [b] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 2. [c] *Menand.* apud *Cyril.* adverf. *Julian.* lib. 7.

been

been so hardy as to endeavour the Reconciling these Contradictions; and to make the Matter the more extraordinary, it has been attempted by some of the *Stoicks*. Let's see a little how one of them pretends to manage the Paradox.

If *you fancy there's any great matter between us, you are mistaken*, says *Seneca*[d]: A little difference indeed, when Virtue is all in all with one *Sect*, and Pleasure the Idol of the other!

Seneca goes on: [e] *Epicurus*, says he, puts *Pleasure under the same Rules which we do Virtue*. But first, under Favour, the *Stoicks prescribed no Laws to Virtue*, but took their Measures from her. Farther, granting their Doctrines the same in some cases, this little step would never bring them together. All the World allows a great Difference between the Professions of Medicine and Philosophy; and yet their Prescriptions concerning *Diet*, and the Management are often the same. Let's hear the Advice of that eminent Pysician *Hippocrates*; *Let* [f] *Labour, and Meat and Drink, and Sleep and Pleasure be all taken with Moderation*. And would not a *Stoick*, *Epicurean*, or any other Philosopher have ordered just the same Thing? But though the Prescription would be the same, the Reason of prescribing would be different. Now in [g] *Morality* 'tis the *End* which gives the *Form* and Distinction to an Action: And here we shall find the *Stoick* and *Epicurean Philosophers* differ as much from each other in the main Drift as they do from [h] the Profession of Physick. The Physician's Business is to guard against Diseases, the *Epicurean's* against Pain, and

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[d] *Senec.* de Vit. beat. c. 13. [e] Ibid. [f] *Hippocrat.* Epidem. l. 6. Sect. 6. [g] *Aristot.* Ethic. l. 3. c. 7. [h] *Plut.* de Valetud. præcept.

the *Stoicks* againſt Vice and Immorality: The firſt aims at the ſecuring of *Health*, the ſecond of *Pleaſure*, and the third of *Honeſty*. Nothing can be more remote than theſe two *Clans* of Philoſophy. The one place *Virtue* upon the Throne, make her Abſolute, and Independent; and ſcarcely admit Pleaſure to wait upon her though at an humble Diſtance. Whereas the other make Probity truckle to Appetite, and afford Reaſon no better Office than to cater for their *Senſes*. Here Pleaſure is the Queen of the Country, [j] and Virtue allowed no better Buſineſs than to whiſper a little Caution to her *Miſtreſs*; that ſhe may not live too faſt, wear up her Conſtitution, and deſtroy the Capacities of Enjoyment.

But *there's a* [k] *great deal of Religion and Probity in the Precepts of* Epicurus, *yes, a great deal of Diſcipline and Bravery too, if they are cloſely examin'd.*

We'll come nearer then if you pleaſe, and look nicely into the Merits of the Cauſe: And this I ſhall do the rather, becauſe this *Sect*, as *Tully* [l] obſerves, by counterfeiting the Air of Virtue, and dropping a few ſhining Sentences, had drawn off a great many Proſelytes.

And now, in good earneſt, can that Man ſet up for *Religion* who diſclaims the Belief of *Providence?* [m] *Who teaches that God is unconcern'd with the World, and neither gives himſelf,* [n] *nor any body elſe any manner of Trouble? That* [o] *the Buſineſs of Rewards and Puniſhments are foreign to his Nature, and that he can neither be angry nor pleas'd with poor Mortals?* He muſt needs be a pious Philoſopher, who, as his Diſciples are pleas'd to brag,

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[j] *Cicer.* de Finib. l. 2. [k] *Seneca* Epiſt. 33. & alib. [l] *Cicer.* de Finib. l. 1. [m] *Lucret.* lib. 1. [n] *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* lib. 10. *Cicer.* de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. [o] *Cicer.* in *Piſon.*

was the first bold Man [p] *who durst attempt the scaling of the Skies, and make an open Attack upon the Deity.*

And as for *Honest Principles*, how can we expect them from those People who declare they value *neither* [q] *Friendship, good Faith, Justice, nor any other Virtue any farther than their* [r] *Interest or their Fancy are serv'd by them?* With these Philosophers [s] *Virtue has no intrinsick Goodness, no native Beauty, nothing that's charming in the bare Practice: No, Honesty and Truth* [t] *do but glister in the Name, and make a handsome Noise, but there's nothing in them.* And farther, they are so frank as to confess, that *a Man ought not to balk himself in any Lewdness,* [v] *Crime or Scandal, that has either Profit or Pleasure in't:* Not to balk himself, I say, upon *the Score of any Moral Deformity of the Action*; for *to say* [w] *an Action is evil in it self, is a Jest: 'Tis true, one should be cautious when there's likely to be Damage* [x] *or Danger in the Case.* But as for any *Apprehensions about the Displeasure and Vengeance of Heaven, that's all Superstition and Stuff* with these Gentlemen; *Conscience is a Cypher* in their Philosophy; their Reason to *forbear doing Mischief is only to save their Carcass*; *'tis not the Law, but the Gallows which frights them*; *and besides, they are afraid a Provocation may be return'd by private Revenge*; *for let them be never so cunning,* [y] *there's no ensuring of Falshood and foul Play.*

Let us proceed and examine the Strictness and Sobriety of their Philosophy; Alas! *They suffer* [z],

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[p] *Lucret.* lib. 1. *Cicer.* de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. [q] *Torquat.* apud *Cicer.* Fin. lib. 1. [r] Idem. ibid. [s] *Cicer.* ibid. *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* lib. 10. *Senec.* Epist. 97. [t] *Torquat.* ubi supr. [v] *Cicer.* de Fin. lib. 2. Vid. *Sen.* supr. [w] *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* [x] *Torq.* ubi supr. *Epicur.* apud *Laert. Senec.* Ep. 97. [y] *Epic.* apud *Laert. Senec.* ibid. [z] *Torq.* apud *Cic.* de Finib. lib. 1.

if you will take their Word for't, *under a wrong Imputation: They are represented to breed their Disciples to Niceness and Luxury, whereas the Case is quite otherwise*; for *their Lectures declare strongly for Regularity and Temperance, and are full of Gravity and Discipline.* Is not their *Chief, Epicurus* [a], very satyrical upon *the Libertines? Does he not reprimand the Folly of those People who are overset with Pleasure, blinded with Appetite, and carried off with the Blandishments of Sense? And while they lie thus at the Mercy of Luxury and Lust, they never consider what Diseases they bring upon themselves, how much Pain they are likely to feel, and how dear the Frolick will cost them?*

But now by the last Sentence of his Correction we may discover the Ground of his falling out with these *Sparks.* The good Man does not lash their Vice out of any Ill-will to't; he is no Enemy to Debauchery; *For all Pleasure* [b], let it come which way 'twill, *is a good thing: Therefore,* says he, *If those* [c] *Satisfactions which gratify a Libertine could deliver him from the Rebukes of Conscience and the Fear of Death, and Apprehensions of Pain; if they could do this, and set Bounds of Convenience to his Fancy, I should have nothing to object against his Method; I should rather applaud his Choice, and encourage his Freedom; for when a Man is brim full of Delight, and has nothing to trouble him, he can't be in an ill way, for nothing but Pain and uneasy Thinking are Evil.* Here we see plainly this Philosopher has no quarrel with a Debauchee for his Lewdness; he rather commends him for humouring his Palate, and making much of himself. He

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[a] *Torquat.* ibid. [b] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 1. *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* lib. 10. [c] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 2. *Laert.* lib. 10.

does

does so, provided he stands clear of Inconvenience; and in order to this, especial Care must be taken to get the better of his Conscience, and drive Religion out of his Head: Why, when does *Epicurus* fall foul upon Spendthrifts and Libertines? Because *they are Blockheads* [d], *and have no Discretion with their Vice*; because *they run themselves out of Breath, and destroy the Pleasure with their Eagerness. Their Unmanageableness ruins their Health, and their Fortune, and their Reputation, and more than that, it often brings them under the lash of the Law.* These are the strict Morals, the hard Lessons of *Epicurus*'s School, and the rugged Penance he puts his Proselytes upon! He gives them their full Freedom in Debauchery: But then they must be lewd like Men of Sense and Understanding; for to over-drive their Constitution, and lose their Credit, and bring themselves to Beggary and Trouble, these are bad things indeed!

But notwithstanding the Liberty of their Principles, and their idolizing of Pleasure, there were several of them Men of great Temperance and Frugality: [e] *Epicurus* will tell you, that *he could satisfy his Stomach for a Half Penny*; *and* Metrodorus, *tho' a lower Proficient, could do it for Three Farthings. Yes*, Epicurus *had put so much Philosophy in his Palate, that Bread and Water* [f] *would regale him, and make him almost wild with Satisfaction: As for Luxury and Expence, he despis'd the Relish, and abominated the Thoughts on't: Give him but a Glass of pure Element, and a little Hasty-pudding, and he would hardly have* [g] *own'd that* Jupiter *had eaten better: This* [h] *Diet, if you are but rightly sharp,*

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[d] *Torquat.* apud *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 1. [e] *Senec.* Epist. 18. [f] *Epicur.* apud *Stob.* tom. 2. tit. 17. [g] Ibid. *Senec.* Ep. 110. Ep. 25. [h] *Epicur.* ibid. *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 2.

has as much taste in't as you would wish: For [i] *very ordinary Meat and Drink will oblige the Sense, and lay Hunger asleep as effectually as that which is counted the most delicious.*

Eudoxus liv'd before *Epicurus*, and was a Person of the same Persuasion: Now [k] *Aristotle* gives this Man an *extraordinary Character for Sobriety, and makes him a great Master of his Palate. This Command of himself made his Opinion go much the farther: For* [l] *People would not believe that any Byass of Interest or Sensuality could govern him, but that 'twas pure Conviction* [m] *and Force of Truth, which brought him to declare for the Preheminence of* Pleasure. But as for *Epicurus*'s Temperance, there's some reason to question it: For *Timochares* assuresus, that *he* [n] *was so far from being satisfied with a Meal of three Farthings, that 'twas his Method to eat up three Pounds Sterling every Day:* And this Story [o] he does not stick to confirm himself. So that his common Custom, and his Fits of Mortification, seem to be very different. *Sometimes*, 'tis granted, *he us'd to accommodate his Stomach* [p] *very indifferently:* This he did *to try whether his Pleasure abated with his Retrenching, or to what Degree; and that he might be convinc'd whether good Eating was worth the Drudging for or not:* And it may be *he made the Experiment* [q] *to arm himself against Casualty and Misfortune, and that* [r] *Poverty might never catch him unprovided.* In short, he seems to have done that by Fits, which it may be was *Eudoxus*'s constant Practice. Let us now enquire into the Reasons of his Discipline: Let us examine why he

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[i] *Laert.* lib. 10. [k] *Arist.* Ethic. lib. 10. cap. 1. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. [n] *Laert.* lib. 10. [o] Epist ad Leontium Meretriculam, *&c.* [p] *Senec.* Epist. 18. ex *Epicuri* ad *Polyænum.* Ep. [q] Idem. ibid. [r] Ibid.

refuses

refuses to be always in a Course of Luxury; what puts him upon Starts of Austerity, and makes him prefer a homely Diet to a plentiful Table. Now, in the first place, he'll tell you, He does not take up upon the score of Conscience, as if Temperance [r] were worth the minding, or there was any harm in Gluttony: Not at all. 'Tis the ill Effects, and not the Excesses of Gourmandizing, which makes him a little cautious. For to keep the Kitchen always hot, is the way to set the House on fire. To be always loading the Table, and eating of Tid-bits, must sink a Man's Pocket cruelly. Such Extravagance commonly ends in Beggary; the Glutton lays [t] all upon the tip of his Tongue, *and swallows his Estate like a poached Egg.* And which is more, these Excesses make the Carcass smart, as well as the Pocket. And here [v] the *Epicurean* is attack'd in the *Seat* of his *Pleasure*, and touch'd in the most sensible Part. Thus *Epicurus* observes, that those People who have no Brains to their Palate, commonly pay for't in their [w] Health: For that which would be Nourishment to a hungry Stomach, is but a Burthen to us when we are full. Thus *a great many Dishes* [x] *breed a great many Diseases; we eat our selves into a Consumption, and grow leaner by being over-stuffed, than we should do by fasting.* And to conclude, Drunkenness and Gluttony are punish'd with *such Defluxions* [y] *of Rheum, with so much Qualm and Headach*, with such Pains and Weakness in their whole Body; insomuch that if Men [z] would think a little before-hand, and compute upon the

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[r] *Epicur.* apud *Stob.* tom. 2. tit. 17. *Torquat.* apud *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 1. [t] *Athen.* lib. 4. [v] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 2. [w] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 1. [x] *Senec.* Epist. 95. [y] *Senec.* ibid. [z] *Athen.* 1. & 15.

Consequences of a Debauch, they would not run themselves a-ground so often, nor carry the Frolick so far as they do. Besides, *Epicurus* and his Followers had a farther Aim in their Experiments of Sobriety: They did not practise it as a Virtue, *but as an Exercise.* [a] *They made Prosperity do Penance sometimes, that they might bear Adversity the better; that they might have nothing new to surprize them, and that the Hardships of Choice might reconcile them to those of Necessity.* They had likewise a mind to try how [b] *little would satisfy Nature, and how* [c] *relishing Hunger could make it.* And lastly, they pinch'd now and then, that *they might feast with* [d] *the better Gust: For* [e] *sensual Satisfactions are the more welcome by making their Visits seldom: Frequency* in this Case does but clog the Senses, and make the Appetite grow dull. And therefore feeding constantly upon Delicacies is said to have more of Expence than [f] Pleasure in't. Distance and Intermission give a Keenness to Desire: Hunger strengthens [g] the Taste, and doubles the Satisfaction; as Liberty is much sweeter when it rises out of Servitude and Oppression. This made *Socrates* pronounce [h] *Hunger an admirable Sauce.* And as that Philosopher used to say, that by walking himself sharp, [i] he had no occasion to go to the Butcher; for his Loaf would afford him Bread and Meat too, when he was throughly hungry: Just thus *Epicurus* used to balk himself sometimes, and keep his Stomach craving, that he might fall to with more Eagerness afterwards, and be better

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[a] *Senec.* Epist. 18. *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* lib. 10. [b] *Epicur.* apud *Senec.* & *Laert.* ibid [c] *Epicur.* apud *Stob.* suppr. [d] *Cicer.* de Finib lib 1. [e] *Juven.* Stat. 11. [f] *Athen.* lib. 10. [g] *Senec.* de Benef. lib. 1. c. 11. [h] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 2. [i] *Cicer.* Tuscul. lib. 5. *Laert.* lib. 2.

prepared

prepared for a luxurious Entertainment. But when the Design is thus mean, what Virtue or Credit can you expect in the Practice? He is a poor Man of *Morals* that can rise no higher than Pleasure and Cramming! A Man may find as much Philosophy in a *Hen-coop*, as this comes to.

Thus we have taken a View of the *Rigour*, *Severity*, and *Mortification* of *Epicurus*'s Doctrine! Let us now proceed to his *Flights of Fortitude*. Yes, says *Seneca*, *Epicurus* had *Mettle* both in his Books and Practice: He [k] was *a finical Spark*, *'tis true*, *but a brave Fellow for all that*. How do you prove it? Because there's Resolution as well as Prudence in his Conduct: For notwithstanding he pronounces [l] all *Pleasure* to be *Good*, and *Pain* to be Evil in it self, yet sometimes, when Interest and Convenience require, he [m] *manages as if he believed the quite contrary*. Upon this Account he checks his Fancy, and denies himself in his Pleasure, when he foresees there will be Pain at the end on't; and on the other Hand makes no difficulty to submit to Fatiguing and Trouble, when he has a fair Prospect of an over-ballance of Pleasure by the Bargain. And is not all this an Argument of Fortitude, as well as Understanding?

But, under favour, the submitting to some Instances of Hardship is no sufficient Proof of Fortitude. If this Pretence would do, [n] *Lovers* and *Madmen* [o] would be the bravest Men in the World. For won't the first drudge and mortify strangely to gain their Point? And as for the latter, they'll charge up to the Cannon's Mouth, and no Con-

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[k] *Senec.* Epist. 33. [l] *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* lib. 10. [m] Ibid.
[n] *Ovid.* Amor. l. 1. Eleg. 9. [o] *Senec.* Epist. 36.

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ſideration of Danger can ſtop their Frenſy. At this rate a hardy Malefactor might challenge the Virtue of a Philoſopher. Thoſe Libertines likewiſe may come in for a ſhare of this Character, who murther themſelves becauſe they han't Patience to out-live their Pocket, nor bear up againſt the Conſequences of their Folly; and yet *Epicurus* [p] himſelf gives the Cauſe againſt theſe People. To go on: By this reaſoning, thoſe Wretches [q] may be ſaid to be brave, who, out of an over-fondneſs of Life, are contented to put an incurable Carcaſs upon the Rack, and ſubmit to Extremity of Torture; tho' all they get by it is rather to prolong their *Miſery*, than their *Being*. And thus that ſcandalous Carpet-Knight *Mæcenas*, would paſs for a Man of *Fortitude*; for if thoſe Verſes of his, cited by *Seneca*, were ſpoken in earneſt, nothing can be more mean:

[r] *Let Gout my Hands and Feet diſtreſs,*
Or Palſy make me motionleſs;
Let my whole Body ſtart in Tumours,
And all my Blood be turn'd to Humours;
Grant me but Life and I'm contented,
And on the Rack ſhall ne'er repent it.

I am willing, (ſays he) *to be impaled* [s] *or crucified if you pleaſe, ſo you will but let me live through it.* Without doubt *'tis worth his while to reſt on his Wounds and be ſtrain'd on a Gibbet, only to keep his Puniſhment alive; which 'tis the beſt of his Caſe to diſpatch as ſoon as may be!* And laſtly by this No-

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[p] *Senec.* Epiſt. [q] *Senec.* Ep. 101. [r] Apud. *Senec.* Ep. 101. [s] *Senec.* ibid.

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tion; whoſoever denies himſelf for his *Pleaſure*, and ſuffers to gratifie a vitious Paſſion may be call'd a Man of *Fortitude*. But we ſay, 'tis the [t] *Cauſe*, and not the *Puniſhment* that makes the *Martyr*. And thus 'tis not the *What*, but the *Why* of a Man's ſuffering, which gives him the Credit on't: The Virtue turns chiefly upon the *Reaſon*, not upon the *Pain:* He only is the brave Man that mortifies upon Principle; [v] that chuſes rather to ſuffer than miſbehave himſelf; and runs through all Diſcouragements upon the Score of Conſcience and Honour. But how can that Man ſuffer upon *theſe Grounds*, who lays it down for a Maxim, that *Honeſty* unattended with Pleaſure is good for nothing; a mere [w] *Shadow* without any thing *Subſtantial* to fill the Graſp: And who looks upon [x] *Fortitude* without Reference to *Intereſt*, to be no better than *Whimſey* and *Romance?*

However, it muſt be granted, *Epicurus* has a great deal of *Courage* in ſome of his Sentences: Tho' after all, The Vanity of them ſeems more remarkable than the Greatneſs. His *Wiſe-man*, if you'll take his Word for't, muſt be happy with the *Scottiſh Boot*. Yes, if *he was roaſting in* [y] Phalaris's *Bull, he would bellow with Satisfaction; and cry out, what a delicious Torture is this? And how handſomely do I contemn it?* Nay he tells you of himſelf, [z] *that the laſt agonizing Day of his Life was the happieſt in the World.* 'Tis true the *Cholick and the Stone* [a] *raged to Extremity, and did their worſt*

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[t] *Auguſt.* in Pſal. 34. [v] *Ariſtot.* Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 7. [w] Torq. apud *Cic.* de Finib. lib. 1. [x] *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* [y] *Cic.* Tuſc. lib. 2. lib. 5. *Senec.* Ep. 66. *Epicur.* apud *Laert. Phalaris*'s Bull was made of Braſs, hollow and red hot. [z] *Epicur.* Epiſt. *ad Idem. Laert.* lib. 10. *Cic.* Tuſc. lib. 2. *Senec.* Epiſt. 66. & 92. [a] Ibid.

upon

upon him. But then the Pleasure he [b] *had in the Reflection upon his own Writings, overtopp'd the Pain, and made his* Imagination *too strong for his* Senses.

But we must not be too forward in believing a Rhodomontade, against *avow'd Principles.* 'Tis true, if these Flourishes had been spoken by a Philosopher that confines the Notion [c] of *Advantage* to *Honesty*, and reckons nothing but [d] *Vice* a *Misfortune:* That makes *Good* and *Evil* [e] lye only in the Use of the *Will*, and the Temper of the *Mind*: Who declares Virtue *self-sufficient* [f] *for a happy Life, and that she stands in need of no Foreign* [g] *Assistance.* He that tells you that a perfect Philosopher is impregnable in his *Happiness*, and proof against the Impressions of *Pain:* [h] That *Virtue* is never to be beaten off, 'twill keep a [i] Man Company under all *Tryals*, mount the *Scaffold*, and the *Wheel*, and shine [k] through his Limbs, while he's burning at the *Stake:* A Man that has such hardy Principles may talk at this rate; for here his Heart and his Tongue go together, and there's Consistency in the Case. But can any one be so void of common Sense, as to believe *Epicurus* in earnest in such Flights as these? *Epicurus*, I say, who makes *Pleasure* the *Supreme Good*, [l] *Pain* and *Torment*, the most *formidable Evil.* And when he has done, states his Notions of these things in the most scandalous Manner imaginable. For he affirms the *Body* [m] the main Seat of Satisfaction; denies the *Mind* any independent Entertainment of her own: And maintains, that all the *Pleasure* of *Thought* either *begins* from the *Body* or *ends* in it. And lastly, He

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[b] Ibid. [c] *Senec.* Epist. 9. [d] Id. de Vit. Beat. cap. 4. [e] Ibid. c. 16. [f] Ibid. [g] Id. Ep. 92. [h] Ibid. [i] *Cicer.* Tusc. lib. 5. [k] *Senec.* de Benef. lib. 6, c. 4. [l] *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* lib. 10. *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 1, 2. [m] *Cicer.* de Finib. lib. 1 & 2.

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is so frank as to confess; that as for the Notion of *Good*, as some People understood it, he neither knew *where* 'twas, nor *what*. Nothing was *Good* to him, that was not *Good* to his [n] *Senses*, that did not please him in his *Eyes* or his *Ears*, in his *Touch*, his *Taste*, or his *Smelling*.

No Man, says the Poet in *Seneca*, is [o] *Happy who does not think* himself so: Yes, says *Epicurus*; he [p] must fansy himself superlatively Happy, or else it won't do: Now how can that Man have such a pleasant Fancy, that lies agonizing in *Pain?* And owns himself afflicted with the greatest *Evil*, and in the highest Degree imaginable?

But *Epicurus*'s Lodgings are too *rank* to stay in; a little better Air won't do amiss, and therefore we'll take a turn in *Zeno*'s *Piazza*.

Now the *Stoicks* are of a quite different Complexion, and directly opposite to the *Epicurean Tenents* above mentioned.

These Philosophers have admirable Notions: "They [q] hold that God Almighty governs the "*Universe*; that his Providence is not only *ge-*"*neral*, but *particular*, and reaches to *Persons* and "*Things:* That [r] he presides over Humane Af-"fairs; that he assists Men not only in the great-"est Concerns, in the Exercises of *Virtue*, but "also supplies them with the Conveniencies of "Life: And [s] therefore that God ought to be "worshipped above all Things, and applied to "upon all Occasions; that we [t] should have "him always in our Thoughts, acknowledge his "*Power*, resign to his *Wisdom*, and adore his *Good-*

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[n] *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* l. 10. *Cicer.* de Finib. l. 2. Tus. l. 3. [o] *Senec.* Ep. 9. [p] *Epicur.* apud *Laert.* [q] *Epict.* Dissert. l. 1. c. 12. & c. 14. & 16. [r] *Marc.* l. 1. Sect. 17. & alib. [s] *Marc.* l. 5. Sect. 33. & alib. [t] *Epict.* l. 2. c. 16. l. 4. c. 4.

" *neſs* for all the [v] Satisfactions of our *Being*. To " ſubmit [w] to his *Providence* without Reſerve: " To be pleaſed with his Adminiſtration; [x] and " fully perſuaded that the Scheme of the World " could not have been mended, nor the Subor- " dination of Things more ſuitably adjuſted, nor " all *Events* have been better timed for the com- " mon Advantage: And therefore [y] that 'tis the " Duty of all Mankind to obey the *Signal*, and fol- " low the Intimations of Heaven with all the Ala- " crity imaginable: That the [z] *Poſt* aſſign'd us " by Providence muſt be maintain'd with Reſolu- " tion; and that we ought [a] to die a thouſand " times over, rather than deſert it.

Theſe are the *Stoicks* Principles concerning the *Deity*, and the Regard due to him: Let us now examine how they ſtand affected towards Mankind.

And here their *Precepts* are no leſs extraordinary than in the former Caſe. For, " They de- " clare [b] plainly, that we muſt love all Mankind " heartily, and without a Compliment; that we " muſt ſolicit their Intereſt, bear with their In- " firmities, and do no manner of Injury to any " Mortal: That a Man ſhould not think himſelf " born only for his private Satisfaction, but ex- " ert his Strength for the publick Advantage, and " make his Life as ſignificant to the World as " 'tis poſſible: That [c] the Conſcience of a good " Action ſhould content him, without the Pro- " ſpect of Fame or Reward: That he ſhould ne- " ver be tired with the Exerciſe of good Na-

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[v] *Epict.* l. 1. c. 16. [w] *Epict.* l. 4. c. 12. [x] *Marc.* paſſim. [y] *Epict.* l. 4. c. 7. *Marc.* lib. 12. & alib. [z] *Senec.* Epiſt. 107. [a] *Epict.* l. 3. c. 24. [b] *Senec.* de Benef. l. 2. c. 6. *Marcus* paſſim. [c] *Cicer.* de Finib. l. 2. *Marcus*,

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" ture, but pursue one Kindness so closely with " another, that there may be no room for any " insignificant Spaces of Life to come between: " That a Man ought to look upon a generous " Action as a Reward to it self, and that we ob- " lige our selves by doing a good turn to ano- " ther; and therefore, that 'tis a piece of Mean- " ness to ramble abroad, and grasp at Interest or " Applause. Farther; That [d] the polishing our " *Reason*, and the governing our *Will*, is the most " noble Employment; and that nothing ought " to be preferr'd to the Practice of Honesty. " And lastly, That a Man [e] should stand immo- " vably by his Reason, that no Clamour of Ap- " petite should call him off, that no Loss of " Fortune, no Menaces of Death, no Extremi- " ties of Torture, should make him give way, " or frighten him from a known Duty.

These are some of the noble Sentences we meet with in the Writings of the *Stoicks*; what Strains of *Piety*, what Instances of *Humanity*, what Flights of *Greatness* are here! And, to give them their due, they don't run out into Inconsistency, nor talk above their *Principles:* Whereas the *Epicurean* Doctrines, if you take them rightly, have neither *Substance* nor *Shew* in them.

But 'tis objected against the *Stoicks*, that they were but little *follow'd*, that they were not constant to their Party, and fail'd in the point of Practice. I shall touch upon all these.

And, 1. Of the Smallness of their Number; it seems this *Sect* had always fewer Disciples than any of the rest. The *Epicureans* had it clearly by the *Poll:* They used to flourish mightily upon

[d] *Marc.* Imp. [e] *Marc.*

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the Crowd of Proselytes which follow'd their Master. And *Torquatus*, in *Tully*, does not stick to affirm, *that the Bulk of the People* [f] *run after* Epicurus, *and that the Strength, tho' not the Reason of Mankind, was undoubtedly on his side.*

Neither is there any great Wonder in all this: *Strato*, the natural Philosopher, was much in the right when he observ'd, *That the Bath and the Wells were much more fancied than the making a Campaign.* People don't care for straining up an Ascent, nor travelling in a rugged Path; a Road that's open and unfatiguing has always most Company. But then the Multitude are little more than so many *Noses:* They have *Numbers*, but no great Weight in them. *Pebbles* are much more common than *Diamonds.* And 'tis an old Saying, that the *bad are* [g] *always the Majority.* [h] *To agree with the Multitude is an Argument of a wrong Choice.* [i] *Things extraordinary in Value are not thick sown; neither was the World ever in* so happy a Condition, as that the *best* [k] Practices should be follow'd by the *most.*

2*dly*, As the *Stoicks* made the least *Body* in the *Field*, so several of them chang'd their side, and went over to other *Parties*, particularly to the *Epicureans*, whereas, on the contrary, very few *deserted* to them.

This Objection, supposing the *Fact* true, has as little Weight in't as the former. When an Argument proves too much, 'tis like a Gun overcharg'd, and recoils upon him that shoots in't.

"I remember *Calisto* [l], an *Athenian* Strumpet, "had the Impudence to tell *Socrates*, that her

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[f] *Cicer.* de Finib. l. 2. [g] Bias. [h] *Senec.* de Vit. beat. c. 2. [i] Id. Ep. 42. [k] Id. de Vit. beat. c. 2. [l] *Æl.* Hist. var. l. 3. c. 32.

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" Profession was better than his; there was more " Force and Persuasion in't, she said, for 'twas " more than he could do to draw off any of her " *Guests*; but 'twas in her Power to thin his " School, and leave him little more than the " Walls to talk to when she had a mind to't ". *Socrates* replied, *All that might very well be: For Philosophy was like tugging up the Hill, and went somewhat against the Grain; whereas Lewdness was rolling downwards, and the Motion might seem easy at present*, though a Man broke his Bones at the Bottom. *Pleasure* lies upon a Descent, but the Way to *Virtue* has a contrary Situation: And since the Biass of Mankind leans towards Vice, 'tis no wonder to find People revolt from *Discipline*, and go over to the looseſt *Doctrines*.

But farther 'tis alledged, that a great many who stood firm to the *Stoical* Philosophy, and disputed strongly for their Notions, yet lived quite counter to what they professed: They had the *Name* and the *Habit*, but nothing of the Regularity of their *Distinction*. Their Tongues were not all of a piece; they talk'd like People of their own *Sect*, but tasted like *Epicureans*. For this Inconsistency of *Practice* and *Pretension*, they are handsomely [m] lash'd by *Lucian* and several others.

Now this Charge has nothing new in't, neither does it bear particularly against the *Stoicks*. For among all sorts of Persuasions, we may meet with enough that are meer *Instruments* and [n] *Organs* in their Business; like *Viol* and *Trumpet*, *they entertain the Company, but not themselves; they make Musick*, but they don't *hear* it. The *Stoicks* were

[m] *Luc.* in vit. auctione, & alib. [n] *Laert.* l. 6. & l. 7.

not the only People in the World that had their Tongues tipt with Philosophy, and not one jot of Good in them beside. Even in the first Fervours of *Christianity*, the Apostles complained there were some who said one thing and did another: *Who* [o] *professed to know God, but in Works they denied him*; *who* [p] *had a Form of Godliness, but denied the Power thereof*; *who turned* [q] *the Grace of God into Lasciviousness*; *who made* [r] *use of their Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciousness*; *who* [s] *promised others Liberty, and were themselves the Servants of Corruption*: Now 'twould be very unreasonable to make a Judgment of the *Christian Religion* from the Misbehaviour of such Men. Such Men, I say, as would have been a Scandal to a much lower *Institution*; and, as our Emperour [t] speaks, were rather *Ulcers* than Members of a *Society*. *Crates* [v] the Philosopher used to say, that a *good Pomgranate was seldom without a rotten Kernel*; and *Varro* is much to the same Purpose, where he says, that *it must be* [w] *a rare Field of Corn that has not a blasted Ear in't*. Nay, even in our [x] *Lord*'s Husbandry the *Tares* grow up with the rest of the Crop, and yet to judge of all the *Grain* by the Quality of the *Weeds*, would be a very undistinguishing Conclusion.

And lastly, Whereas 'tis objected, that the greatest Part even of the most Eminent of this *Sect* have not exactly come up to their own Precepts; but in some Instances, at least, have fallen short of that *Rule* they took the Liberty to make themselves.

In answer to this, I desire to know whether those who are *Christians* in earnest don't some-

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[o] *Tit.* i. 16. [p] 2 *Tim.* iii. 5. [q] *Jude* 4. [r] 1 *Pet.* ii. 16. [s] 2 *Pet.* ii. 19. [t] *Marc.* lib. 2. sect. 16. [v] *Laert.* l. 16. [w] *Var.* ap. *Non.* [x] *Mat.* 13. 25, 27.

times

times warp in their *Practice*, and ſtart now and then from their *Inſtitution?* Thoſe who in St. *Paul*'s Language *were Pillars of the* [y] *Church*, and in the moſt ſignificant Senſe too, have without Exception declar'd, *that* [z] *in many things we offend all:* And St. *John* aſſures us, that *if we* [a] *ſay we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the Truth is not in us.* Even the *Apoſtles* themſelves, who had the Benefit of our Saviour's Inſtruction and Example, were not without their [b] Failings; and therefore 'tis the leſs Wonder to find the higheſt Pretenders among the Heathens to forget themſelves a little, and ſleep over their *Philoſophy*. The *Oracle* never deliver'd a greater Truth than that of *Æſchylus*, where he tells us, that

[c] *The Wiſeſt living an't without their Errors.*

As for the *Stoicks*, they [d] ne'er pretended themſelves big enough for their Speculations, or that their *Lives* were an exact Counterpart of what they *taught*. 'Tis true, they made a beautiful Scheme, and ſet the Rule high; but this was chiefly to put People upon doing their Beſt, to awaken Induſtry and encourage Imitation.

And yet, after all, the *Stoical Philoſophy* has produced great Examples of Virtue in ſeveral Ages. Some of this Perſuaſion have been remarkably conſiſtent with their Doctrines, and held out to the length of their *Principles*; and that not only by Fits and broken Intervals, but by a conſtant and uninterrupted Regularity. Amongſt theſe we ſhall mention *Zeno* firſt, in Honour of

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[y] *Gal.* ii. 9. [z] *Jam.* iii. 2. [a] 1 *Joh.* i. 8. [b] *Gal.* ii. 11. *Acts* xv. 39. [c] *Stob.* tom. 2. tit. 3. [d] *Senec.* de vit. beat. c. 18.

whose Memory there was an extraordinary *Vote* past by the *Senate* of *Athens*, viz. *Resolv'd*,

"That in [e] Consideration of the great Merit of "*Zeno*'s Virtue, the Consistency of his Precept "and Practice, and the noble Example he set "the World, *This House* has thought fit to order "him a Statue of Brass, with a Golden Crown "on the Head on't; to erect him a Tomb at "the Publick Charge, ornamented with two Pil-"lars, with the *Inscription* of this *Vote* upon each "of them.

Zeno, the *Chief* of this *Clan*, had several eminent Disciples who in their respective Times were remarkable Instances of Virtue in all the Parts of a good Life: And here, waving those who were Philosophers by Profession, I shall mention some of great Quality and Figure; as *Cato Uticensis*, *Thraseas Pætus*, *Helvidius Priscus*, and more especially our Emperour *Marcus Antoninus*, who is the Occasion of the present Discourse.

From the Philosophy of the *Stoicks* let us proceed to those Authors that deliver'd it, and by whom the *Subject* is treated at large. Amongst these *Zeno* and *Chrysippus* were the most considerable. The first was Founder of the *Sect*, and is styled the *Prince and Father of the Stoicks*, by *Tully* [f], *Strabo* [g], and *Galen* [h]. The other was a very successful Champion, and added a great deal of Strength and Defence to the first *Plan*; insomuch that it was commonly said, *That* Zeno's *Cloyster* [i] *must have tumbled, had it not been buttress'd up by* Chrysippus. Both these Philosophers

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[e] *Laert.* lib. 7. [f] *Cicer.* de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. [g] *Strab.* Geogr. lib. 14. [h] *Galen.* de Dogmat. *Hippoc.* & *Platon.* l. 2. c. 6. [i] *Laert.* lib. 7.

were

were very voluminous *Writers*; *Chrysippus* is said to have left no less than [k] seven hundred and five *Tracts* behind him; but neither of them have had the good Luck to stand the Shock of Time; nor indeed have we so much as any one Volume of the *first Set* of these *Sages* come to our Hands. There are only some *Fragments* of them remaining in *Plutarch*, *Galen*, *Laertius*, and *Tully*. The first [l] is always, and the second [m] for the most part, their Enemy; The third [n] is but a bare *Reporter*, and the last [o] Disputes the Question on both sides. 'Tis true, we had a little better Fortune afterwards: The *Works* of some later Philosophers of this *Persuasion* have reach'd us; And those are, *Seneca*, *Epictetus*, and our *Emperour*.

Of these three, *Seneca* is the first in Time, but in my Opinion, the least in Value and Merit: 'Tis granted, he has a great many [p] shining Sentences, his Precepts are admirable, his Manner noble, and his Way of arguing very acute in many Places: Indeed he deserves to be read by the most serious Professions as well as others; but then this ought to be done with somewhat of Care and Caution. For to be free with him, he is not uniform, and all of a Piece. I don't mean his Life, tho' *Dion Cassius* taxes him upon this Score, as if *he wrote* [q] *one Way, and lived another.* No, 'tis his *Books* that I speak to; and here, how fulsomely does he flourish upon that heavy Emperour *Claudian*[r]: And to pass his Flattery the better, makes his Compliment to that scanda-

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[k] *Laert.* ibid. [l] *Plut.* in Stoic. repugnant. de commun. Notit. & de Paradox. [m] *Galen.* in lib. de dogmat. *Hippocrat.* & *Platon.* [n] *Laert.* lib. 7. [o] *Cicer.* in Acad. Tuscul. de Finib. & de Nat. Deor. [p] *Quintil.* Instit. lib. 10. cap. 1. [q] *Dio. Cass.* lib. 61. in *Xiphil.* [r] In Consolat ad *Polyb.*

lous Tool of a Courtier *Polybius*? But these good Words, were all given while *Claudius* was living; for when the Emperour was once dead, he pals his *Memory* [f] to some Purpose; and falls upon him with all the Violence of *Satyr* imaginable. To go on: How does he contradict himself about the State of the Soul after Death? One while he makes her shoot the Gulph, [c] mount the Skies, without the least Damage: At another time she is little better with him than a Wax [v] Candle: For when the Matter is once spent, the *vital Flame* sinks in the Socket, and all the pretended Immortality is over. Sometimes he bears hard upon *Epicurus*, censures his Writings, and lashes him for his *Liberty* severely: Calls [w] him *a Man of an abject, and scandalous Temper, perfectly ridden by his Appetite, fitter for a Cook than* [x] *a Philosopher, and that his School* [y] *taught nothing but Luxury and Pleasure.* But his angry Humour does not last always: For upon another Occasion, (it may be to curry Favour with his Friend *Lucilius*, who was an admirer of this *Sect*;) he comes round again, and not only excuses *Epicurus*, wipes out his Infamy, [z] and blanches his [a] Reputation; but likewise gives him a great Character, says his *Principles* are remarkable for [b] *Justice* and *Piety*, and if you examine them nicely, for *Mortification* too. And lastly, he is sometimes guilty of the same Trifling, which he finds fault with in *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*. He is [c] gay sometimes when he should

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[f] In Ἀποκολυνθώσει. [c] Ad *Lucil.* Ep. 102. ad *Polyb.* Consol. cap. 28. Ad *Marc.* Consol. cap. 25. [v] Ad *Lucil.* Ep. 54. [w] Ad *Lucil.* Ep. 42. [x] Ep. 11. [y] Ep. 9. [z] Ep. 14. & 21. & 48. [a] De Vit. beat. cap. 13. [b] Ibid. [c] *Quintil.* Instit. lib. 10. cap. 1. *Gellius* Noct. Attic. lib. 12. 62. *Erasmi.* præfat. ad *Senec.*

be

be ſolemn, and flouriſhes when he ſhould ſtrike home. He makes a Paſs with a *Pin*, and rather pricks a Subject than pierces it. He gives you ſometimes a turn of Fancy, inſtead of ſolid Proof; his Notions are now and then ſo ſuperfine, that the leaſt Reſiſtance turns the Edge of them. They have generally a *Point*, but no Weight of Body for Execution. This may be looked on as an Exceſs of clear Dealing; but I am not the firſt that have taken this Freedom with *Seneca*; ſeveral great Men have paſs'd the ſame Judgment upon him long ſince. However I deſire not to be underſtood as if I had a Mind to detract from the Worth, or diſcourage the Reading of this Philoſopher, who was really a Perſon of an extraordinary Genius; and has always had Men of Senſe and Learning to admire him. My Meaning is only to ſhew, that this *Roman* failed a little in the Points of Gravity and Fortitude, ſo peculiar to the *Stoicks:* And that *Epictetus* and *Marcus Antoninus* out-did him, both in their Pens and their Practice. Theſe two Perſons, tho' in contrary Stations, and in the remoteſt Diſtance of Circumſtances imaginable; the one being a poor *Slave*, and the other the greateſt *Monarch* in the *Univerſe:* Theſe two Perſons, I ſay, have ſhew'd the Force of the *Stoical* Philoſophy; and how ſtrongly it operates under all Diverſities of Condition; and that not only by a comprehenſive Body of refined Morality in their Writings, but alſo by an illuſtrious Example every Way agreeable to the Nobleneſs of the Precepts delivered.

Thus far I have tranſlated *the Learned* Gataker, *who proceeds in his* Prolegomena, *to draw a Parallel between the Doctrines of our Bleſſed Saviour, and thoſe of* Marcus Antoninus *in many conſiderable In-*

ſtances, inſomuch that one wou'd imagine the Emperour had tranſcribed *part of his Philoſophy from the four Evangeliſts: But this I ſhall rather leave to the* Reader's *Collection, than preſent him with that before-hand, which 'tis likely he may with more Satisfaction diſcover for himſelf. The reſt of* Gataker's *Introductive Diſcourſe is foreign to our Purpoſe, and therefore I ſhall go on with it no farther.*

THE

THE

LIFE

Of the EMPEROUR

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

Translated from the *French* Original of Monsieur *D'acier*, and supported by the Authorities Collected by Dr. *Stanhope*.

AFTER the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, the *Roman* Empire fell under the most different Administrations imaginable: The Famous *Triumvirate*, together with the Reigns of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, sat heavy upon the People, and made them sensible of the most tyrannical Exercises of Power: The Emperours *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*, were quite of another Temper, and made the Government remarkable for Justice and Clemency. At that time of Day those Princes were look'd

look'd on as extraordinary in their kind, and to have been perfect Examples of Virtue and Vice. But God, who sends Governours according as he intends to prosper or punish a Nation, was pleas'd to make it apparent, that the good Qualities of the first *Cæsars* were but faint Resemblances of those in *Marcus Aurelius*. In earnest, we may venture to say that *Providence* proportion'd the Conduct of this Prince to the Calamities of his Reign. The Times were never so tempestuous, nor the *State* so distress'd before: So that humanly speaking, nothing less than such a Person at the *Helm* could have preserv'd it. If the *Reader* expects a History of Court Intrigues, and Politick Maxims, he'll be disappointed: For I am now to write the Life of a Royal Philosopher; that is of an Emperour who was made up of Truth, Honesty, and Religion, and who scorn'd to be govern'd by any other Rule, than that of Reason and Justice.

The Family of *Marcus Aurelius* was one of the most Noble and Illustrious in all *Italy*. [d] By his Father *Annius Verus*, he was descended from *Numa*, King, and Successor to *Romulus*. His Great Grandfather was *Prætor* [e] and *Senator*, and his Grandfather thrice Consul and Governour of *Rome*. His Father died in his *Prætorship* and left Issue *Anna Cornificia*, and *Annius Verus*, who is the same with our *Marcus Aurelius*; his Aunt, or Father's Sister, *Anna Galeria Faustina*, was married to the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*. So much for his Father's Family. His Mother *Domitia Calvilla Lucilla*, was extracted from *Malennius*, a Prince of the *Salentines*: [f] She was Daughter to *Calvisius*

[d] Jul. Capit. Eutrop. Dio. [e] A *Prætor* was somewhat of the Nature of a Lord Chief Justice, but much greater, both in Figure and Authority. [f] The Territory of *Otranto* in *Italy*. Capitol.

Tullus

Tullus, who had been twice Conſul, and Granddaughter to *Catilius Severus* who had likewiſe been twice Conſul and Governour of *Rome*.

Marcus Aurelius was born at *Mount Celius*, the twenty fifth of *April*, [g] in the ſecond Conſulſhip of his Mother's Grandfather, and from him had the Name of *Catilius Severus*. Afterwards the Emperour *Adrian* call'd him *Annius Veriſſimus*, in Alluſion to his Diſpoſition; and the remarkable Regard he ſo early diſcover'd for Honeſty, and *Truth* [h]. But after his Minority was ſomewhat worn off, and he was admitted to put on a *Man's Habit* [i], he took the Name of his Family, and was called *Annius Verus*, till he was adopted by the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, and tranſplanted into the Family of the *Aurelii*, from which time he was known by the Name of *Marcus Aurelius*. Being very young when his Father died, he was remov'd to his Grandfather, who took ſuch Care of his Education, that as ſoon as he was big enough to appear out of the *Nurſery*, he put him into the Hands of a Governour of great Merit and Integrity, and procur'd him the beſt *Maſters* for all the Improvements of Youth. *Euphorion* taught him to read, and *Geminus* a *Player*, to pronounce gracefully. And *Andro* was pitch'd upon to inſtruct him in Muſick, and Mathematicks. He learned Grammar for the Greek Tongue of *Alexander*, and for the Latin of *Troſius Aper*, *Pollio*, and *Eutychius Proclus*. His Greek Rhetorick Maſters were *Annius Marcus*, *Caninius Celer*, and *Herode*; and *Cornelius Fronto* did him the ſame Service in *Latin*. But being of an elevated and noble Genius, and having a Paſſion for nothing but Reality and Truth, he ſpent not much time

[g] An. Dom. 121. Capitol. [h] Dio. [i] *Toga virilis.*

in

in these Studies; but pass'd on to a more significant and necessary Part of Learning, and applied himself wholly to the *Stoick* Philosophy. For this purpose he entertain'd *Sextus Chæronensis*, *Plutarch*'s Grandson, *Junius Rusticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, and *Cinna Catulus*, who were the most Eminent *Stoicks* of that Age. He likewise had the Assistance of *Claudius Severus*, a great *Peripatetick* Philosopher.

He always paid a great Regard to his *Preceptors*, as being fully sensible of the Advantages of Education, and of the Value of that Pains which had been taken with him. This acknowledging Temper work'd so far that he erected *Statues* for *Fronto*, and *Rusticus*; which *Rusticus*, and *Proculus*, another of his Masters, he rais'd to the Consulship [k]: And the latter having no great Fortune, he furnish'd him with Money to live up to the Grandeur of his *Office* [l]: And as for *Rusticus*, he always did him the Honour to salute him before the Captain of the *Guards*. But this was not all. For being convinc'd that Money and Preferment, were no sufficient Return for Sense and Principles, which latter Advantages being either the first Growth, or at least the Improvements of *Instruction*; he was willing to let the World know how much he was indebted to the Care of these great Men: The satisfying of this Obligation was the principal Motive which put him upon writing his admirable *Meditations*. An extraordinary Piece of Gratitude this; which as 'twas an Original in him, so no body since has had the Ingenuity to copy after it. When People have any good Qualities, they are apt to thank themselves for the getting them. To

[k] The highest Post in the Government. [l] Capitol.

impute

impute their Virtue to the Assistance of another, is the Way, they fancy, to tarnish the Lustre, and lose the Credit on't. But *Marcus Aurelius* was always a declar'd Enemy to this sort of Self-Love: This Impartiality of Temper made his Acknowledgments run high, and treat his Masters almost with the same Respect he did his *Deities*. For after their Death he erected them Statues of Gold among his *Domestick* Gods, made frequent Visits to their Tombs, and there honour'd them with the Solemnity of Sacrifices and Flowers [m].

And since the Advantages of *Philosophy* consist in *Practice*, it must be confess'd that to perfect the Character of a good Prince, he should not be unacquainted with the Measures of *Justice*, which are so serviceable to the publick Interest. *Marcus Aurelius* took care not to neglect so significant a Part of Knowledge, he took considerable Pains in the Study of the *Law*, in which he was instructed by *L. Volusius Mecianus*, the most able Lawyer of his Time [n].

He was a Favourite of *Adrian*'s from his very Infancy, who loved to have him always at his Court: This Emperour presented him with a Horse upon the publick Charge, [o] when he was but six Years old; an Honour which had never been so early bestow'd upon any one before.

And it being the Custom among the *Romans* for young Persons of Quality to pass through the Priesthood in order to qualify themselves for State-Employment, he was admitted one of the *Salii*, that is a Priest of *Mars* [p]. And in this Bu-

[m] The *Romans* us'd to strew the Tombs of those they had Regard for, with all sorts of Flowers. [n] Capitol. Aristid. in Mat. encom. Orat. 9. [o] Capiol. This *Equus Publicus* was a kind of Knight-hood. [p] Capitol.

ſineſs he was ſo far from behaving himſelf as other young People do, in an Office, which they look upon only as a Title and Qualification for ſome other more conſiderable Promotion; no, he perform'd all the Parts of the Function with that Conſtancy and Exactneſs, as if this *Poſt* had been the utmoſt of his Ambition. This Application made him Maſter of the *Muſick*, and Head of the *Order*; ſo that during his being there, all thoſe who were either enter'd into this *Society* or diſmiſs'd it, were always admitted or diſcharged by him. And at theſe Solemnities there was no need of a *Prompter* to aſſiſt him, for he had all the Holy Forms and Ceremonies by Heart. And thus he practiſed betimes one of his own Maxims, *To do every thing according to the Rules of Art, and with the utmoſt Improvement.* 'Twas in this *Society* that he receiv'd the firſt Preſages of his coming to the *Throne:* For the Prieſts according to Cuſtom throwing Garlands of Flowers upon *Mars*'s Statue, laid upon a Couch of State, that which was thrown by *Marcus Aurelius* fell as exactly upon the Head of his pretended Deity, as if it had been put on by a Man's Hand: Now the Crowning of this Statue was the peculiar Privilege of the Emperour.

At fifteen Years of Age he put on his *Man's Habit* [q], and by *Adrian*'s Order had the Daughter of *L. Ceionius Commodus* contracted to him. Not long after he was truſted with the Government of *Rome*, during the Abſence of the Conſuls, who went to *Mount Alba* to keep the *Latin-Holydays* [r]. In this Poſt of Authority he behaved himſelf with the Gravity of an old Magiſtrate, and repreſented the Emperour with great Dignity and Prudence [s].

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[q] *Toga virilis.* [r] *Feriæ Latinæ* inſtituted by *Tarquin the Proud*, upon a Confederacy entered into with the *Latins*, &c. Dion. Halic. lib. 4. [s] Capitol.

His Sister *Anna Cornificia* was married to *Numidius Quadratus*; and that her Husband might not upbraid this Lady with Want of Fortune, he gave her all his Paternal Estate; and also gave his Mother the Liberty of adding what Part of her own Settlement she pleas'd [t].

He was not without some Fancy for the *Pencil*, and for this Study *Diognetus* was his Master, a Person eminent both for Painting and Philosophy [v].

He loved Wrestling, Foot-Races, Tennis, and Hunting [w], not so much for the sake of the Diversion, as because he look'd upon them as a sort of innocent Preservatives of Health: Nay, he went somewhat farther, and was of *Socrates* and *Aristippus*'s Opinion, that the Exercise of the Limbs was not unserviceable to Virtue it self. Before his Constitution was weaken'd with Fatiguing and constant Business, he used Hunting, and would frequently ride singly at the biggest wild Boars, and attack them with great Dexterity and Courage [x]; but his Passion for Philosophy got the Ascendant, and made him cool in other Diversions. This Passion seiz'd him so strongly in his very Infancy, that when he was but twelve Years old, he put on the *Habit* of the *Stoick* Philosophers [y], practis'd their Austerities, and lay upon the Ground with nothing but his Cloak under him; and his Mother had all the Difficulty imaginable to persuade him to lie upon a boarded Bed, tho' it had nothing but a few Skins thrown over it. Nature seem'd to have made him on purpose to restore and encourage that Philosophy which had always been most firm to the Interest

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[t] Capitol. [v] Id. [w] Idem. [x] Dio. [y] Capitol.

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of Virtue: For even in his Childhood the Equality and Gravity of his Temper was such, that neither Pleasure nor Uneasiness could ever make him so much as change Countenance. But [z] then this Gravity, having no Mixture of Moroseness, was not at all troublesome to his Friends, nor to those who had Business with him. To do him Justice, his good Qualities ne'er run out into Excess; his Prudence in Conversation was without Pride, and his Complaisance without Meanness.

Adrian having lost *Ceionius Commodus* [a], whom he had adopted for the Empire, and being in quest of one to supply his Place, *Marcus Aurelius* came into his Mind; but finding him too Young, for then he was scarcely Eighteen, the Emperour adopted *Antoninus Pius*; but with this Proviso, that he should adopt *Marcus Aurelius*, and *L. Verus*, Son of *Commodus* lately deceas'd: And thus *Marcus Aurelius* was adopted at eighteen Years old. The [b] Night before this Honour he dream'd his Hands and Shoulders were made of Ivory; and upon trial whether they would bear any great Burthen, he found them much stronger than formerly.

The News of his being adopted did but disturb him; and when his Domesticks ask'd him how he could receive an Honour of that Bulk with such an Air of Dissatisfaction, he made them a long Discourse concerning the Misfortunes which perpetually attend a Royal Station.

Some few Days after his Adoption, *Adrian* went into the *Senate* [c], and moved that his Want of Age for the Office of *Quæstor* might be dis-

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[z] Capitol. [a] Capitol. Spartian. in Adrian. [b] Capitol. Dio. An. Dom. 139. [c] Spartian. in Adrian.

pens'd

pens'd with: This was the laſt Favour he receiv'd of this Emperour, who died ſoon after at *Baiæ*. *Marcus Aurelius* made him a magnificent Funeral, and brought the Gladiators into the *Amphitheaters*, to fight in Honour of the Deceas'd.

After *Adrian*'s Death, *Antoninus Pius* broke the Contract which *Marcus Aurelius* in Obedience to the late Emperour had made with the Daughter of *Lucius Commodus*, and offer'd him his own Daughter *Fauſtina*, precontracted to *Verus*: But *Verus* being too young to be married, the Emperour made Choice of *Marcus Aurelius*, whom, after his having been *Quæſtor*, he preferr'd to the *Conſulſhip*, tho' the Laws were ſomewhat ſtrain'd in his Favour. He likewiſe gave him the Title of *Cæſar* [d], made him Colonel of one of the ſix Companies of *Knights*, and was preſent at the *Shews* furniſh'd out by *Marcus* and his Fellow-Officers. He forc'd all the honourable Diſtinctions of a Prince upon him, and by an Order of the *Senate* had him admitted into the College of the High-Prieſts.

Marcus Aurelius being conſtrain'd in his Genius, and rather burthen'd than pleas'd with his Promotion, was oblig'd to be conſtantly at the *Council-Board*, to qualify himſelf for the Functions of Government; but all this forcing did but increaſe his Inclination for *Philoſophy*, in which he ſpent all the Time he could ſpare out of publick Buſineſs. This Paſſion of his for the Study of *Wiſdom*, was not a little promoted by the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*; who, beſides the engaging him farther by his own Example, ſent for the famous *Apollonius* of *Chalcis* from *Athens*: Now the

[d] An. Dom. 140.

Converſation of this *Stoick* Philoſopher was not unſerviceable to the young Prince. And here I can't omit the relating a Paſſage, the oddneſs of which will help us to underſtand the Temper both of the Philoſopher and the Emperour. As ſoon as *Apollonius* was arriv'd at *Rome*, *Antoninus Pius* ſent him Word, *That he might come to Court as ſoon as he pleas'd, and his Scholar ſhould be put into his Hands* [e]. To this Meſſage the Philoſopher reply'd; *That 'twas the Scholar's Buſineſs to wait upon his Maſter, and not the Maſter's to run after the Scholar.* This Anſwer being carried to the Emperour, he only ſmil'd at it, and ſaid, *That* Apollonius, he perceiv'd, *found leſs Trouble in his Journey from* Athens *to* Rome, *than in walking from his Inn to the Palace:* This was all the Notice he took of *Apollonius*'s Freak, and ſent *Marcus Aurelius* to his Lodgings.

About this time the young Prince loſt his Governour: The Death of this Perſon touch'd him ſo ſenſibly, that he forgot his uſual Fortitude, and ſhed Tears upon the Occaſion. And when ſome of the Court rallied upon him, as if he had given way to an Inconſiſtency, the Emperour replied, *Pray give him leave to be a Man, Nature will have its Courſe in ſome meaſure, in ſpight both of Empire and Philoſophy.*

He married *Fauſtina* two Years after his ſecond Conſulſhip [f]. This Princeſs was an extraordinary Beauty, but of too airy a Temper to be any great Bleſſing to her Huſband: She was for living by her Mothers Example, and getting *Beaux* to admire her Perſon: As for the Charms of *Marcus Aurelius*, ſhe underſtood nothing of them, nor had

[e] Capitol. in Pio. [f] Id. An. Dom. 147.

any

any Reliſh for ſo much Wiſdom and Regularity. He had a Daughter by her the firſt Year after he was married, at which Time he had alſo the *Tribunician* and *Proconſular* Authority, which were commonly the ſole Prerogatives of the Imperial Crown.

To this Dignity and Grandeur, the *Senate* added another extraordinary Privilege, firſt invented for *Auguſtus*, but much enlarged in the ſucceeding Reigns: By the *Roman* Law no *Act* could paſs in the *Senate*, unleſs the Conſul, who was the Principal *Member*, brought in the *Bill* [g]; for 'twas his Prerogative to make the firſt Propoſal of the Matter. The Conſuls relinquiſh'd this Right in favour of *Auguſtus*, and by a formal *Act* impower'd him to make his Report, as they call'd it, every Day in the *Senate*; that is, to move or propoſe the paſſing what he had a mind to every Day of their *Sitting*.

But when People have once begun to flatter and compliment away their Privileges, 'tis a difficult Point to make a Halt, and keep within Bounds. Thus this Privilege granted to *Auguſtus*, of moving for a new *Act* once a Day, was afterwards improv'd to ſucceeding Emperours, and mounted to the Liberty of bringing in three, four, or five diſtinct *Bills* in the ſame compaſs of Time; and *Marcus Aurelius* had it in the laſt and largeſt Extent. Now this *Prerogative* carried ſuch a vaſt weight of Power along with it, that 'twas enough of it ſelf to make all the *Seſſions* of the *Senate* inſignificant.

But as it happen'd, this *Authority* was lodg'd in the beſt Hands imaginable: [h] For all the uſe

[g] Vid. Salmaſ. in Capitol. [h] Capitol.

Marcus Aurelius made of it, was only to maintain the Liberties, and promote the Happineſs of the People.

Farther; He never abus'd the Intereſt he had with the Emperour, who prefer'd none but thoſe of his Recommendation, for he was always very careful never to mention any but ſuch as were well qualified for their reſpective Employments. And here we may obſerve, that his Submiſſions to the Emperour always kept pace with the Growth of his own Authority; for he conſtantly paid his Imperial Majeſty the ſame Regard, as if himſelf had been no more than a private Perſon: Indeed his Affection to the Emperour ſeem'd daily to encreaſe upon him; for during his three and twenty Years at Court he never left him, nor ſo much as lay abroad above two Nights.

This cloſe Attendance, together with all the Marks of Tenderneſs and Regard, made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion upon *Antoninus Pius*, that he would never liſten to the Suggeſtions of thoſe who endeavour'd to create a Jealouſy againſt *Marcus Aurelius*, and put him upon ſuſpecting the Reality of his Affection. One Day when he was walking in the Garden with one of his Courtiers, and ſeeing *Lucilla*, *Marcus Aurelius*'s Mother, on her Knees in a private Place before *Apollo*'s *Statue*; the Gentleman whiſpers him in the Ear, *What do you think, Sir*, ſays he, *that Lady is ſo earneſt in her Devotions for*; *ſhe's begging* Apollo *that your Majeſty may trip off, and that her Son may govern in your Place.* This Sentence, which had they had a Tyrant to deal with, might have been fatal both to Mother and Son, was diſregarded by the Emperour, who was too well aſſur'd of the good Faith and Probity of *Marcus Aurelius*, to believe any Report to his Diſadvantage. The good Underſtanding between

tween these two Princes continued without the least Coolness, till the Death of *Antoninus*; who falling sick at *Lorium*, and perceiving himself past Hopes of Recovery, order'd his Captains of the Guards, principal Officers, and those he could confide in, to be brought into his Bed-chamber; [i] and before this Company he confirm'd the Adoption of *Marcus Aurelius*, naming him for his sole Successor, without any mention of *Verus*: And the Commander in Chief coming to receive Orders, he gave him *Equanimity* for the *Word*, letting them understand, that by leaving such a Successor, they had all they could reasonably wish for. Immediately after this he order'd the *Golden Fortune* to be carried into *Marcus Aurelius*'s Apartment: Now this *Statue* was look'd on as an Omen of good Luck, and a kind of publick Security, and was always kept in the Emperour's Bed-chamber.

After the Death of this Prince, the *Senate* prevail'd with *Marcus Aurelius* to take the Government upon him [k]. And here the first Act of his Imperial Authority was to grant it to an *Assistant*; for he made *Lucius Verus* his *Partner*, gave him the *Tribunician Power*, the Title of *Emperour*, and an equal Share with himself in the Administration. [l] This was the first time *Rome* was ever govern'd by two *Sovereigns*: A Sight extraordinary enough in any Place, especially in a Town where the Choice of a single Prince had often occasion'd so much Confusion and Blood-shed.

The same Day *Marcus Aurelius* took the Name of *Antoninus*, and gave it to his Collegue *Verus*,

[i] Capitol. [k] An. Dom. 161. [l] Capitol.

to whom he contracted his Daughter *Lucilla*[m]. And as a Mark of their Satisfaction in this Alliance and the good Correſpondence between them; they ſettled a conſiderable Fund for the Support of thoſe who were lately *Naturaliz'd*, and at that time very numerous. The two Emperours upon their going out of the *Senate-Houſe*, had the *Guards* drawn up before them, to whom they gave a Largeſs or Bounty of five hundred Crowns a Man, and proportionably to the Officers. This being done, they proceeded to the funeral Solemnity of their Father the late Emperour, whoſe Corps they carried to *Adrian*'s Tomb, and lodg'd it there: They likewiſe proclaim'd a *Vacation* out of Reſpect to the *Mourning*; and then according to Cuſtom went on to the *Deifying Ceremony*; which was perform'd in the Manner following [n].

In the *Palace* Porch, there was an Ivory Bed of State, made higher than ordinary, with a Counterpane of Gold Tiſſue, and upon this they laid the Effigies of the deceaſed Prince in Wax-work: On the left Hand of his Bed, the Senators or Nobility ſat all in *Black*. The Ladies of the firſt Quality were placed on the right Hand; they appeared in a plain white Habit, without any thing of Jewels or Dreſſing. This Part of the Ceremony laſted a Week, during which the Phyſicians paid their Attendance, treated the *Effigies* like a *Patient*, and always at their going away pretended the Diſeaſe gain'd ground, and that the Symptoms grew Mortal. At laſt when the Emperour's Death was publiſh'd, a certain Number of young Noblemen and Gentlemen of the beſt Quality, took up the Bed and carried it upon their Shoul-

[m] Capitol. vid. Salmaſ. in Notis. [n] See *Herodian*'s Deſcription of *Severus*'s Funeral.

ders

ders thro' the Street call'd the *Via Sacra*, into the Old *Forum* or *Square*, where the Magiſtracy uſed to reſign their reſpective Employments. Two ſides of this *Square* were Scaffolded: Upon one of which there was a Choir of Youths, and on the other, one of young Ladies, and both Sexes of the beſt Quality: Their Buſineſs was to ſing Hymns, and Funeral Poems in Honour of the dead, and that in the moſt ſolemn affecting Manner imaginable. Theſe *Dirges* being over, the Nobility and Gentry above-mentioned, took up the Bed of *State* and carry'd it out of the City into the *Campus Martius*; in the middle of which Field there was upon this Occaſion a little wooden Pyramid built ſeveral Stories high. The firſt Story was made like a little ſquare Chamber, fill'd with all ſort of combuſtible Matter, and ornamented on the outſide with Pieces of Gold Tiſſue, Ivory Statues and Paintings of the beſt kind: The ſecond Story being of the ſame Figure with the firſt, but a little leſs, was embelliſh'd in the ſame Manner, only with the Difference of being open on the four Sides of the Square. Above this there were ſeveral other Stories which leſſen'd by Degrees, till the laſt grew narrow to a Point. The Bed, and Effigies in Wax was placed in the ſecond Story ſtuffed with Perfumes of all ſorts as Gums, Flowers and Odoriferous Plants, the People both in City and Country ſtriving to outdo each other in this laſt Reſpect to their Prince. This being done, the Gentry march'd on Horſeback round the Pyramid in good Order; adjuſting the Motions of their March to the Tune of ſeveral Military Inſtruments which plaid to them; this ſort of Tournament was follow'd by Chariot-Racing, managed by young People in Habits edg'd with Purple, and diſguis'd in *Viſors*, which

repreſented the Perſons of the moſt celebrated Generals, and Emperours of *Roman* Extraction.

This Cavalcade and Racing being over, thoſe who were to ſucceed to the Empire came up to the Funeral Pile, and ſet Fire to it with a Flambeaux; the Conſuls, Nobility, and Gentry doing the ſame afterwards in their Order. And thus all being preſently in a Flame, there was an Eagle privately let looſe from the top of the *Pyramid*; which immediately towring out of ſight, was ſuppoſed to carry the Emperour's Soul into Heaven; who from this time was reputed a God, and worſhip'd accordingly.

After this Ceremony, the two Emperours made each of them a Funeral Oration in Commendation of their *Father* °, choſe him a high Prieſt out of his own Family, and ſet up a Fraternity of Prieſts call'd *Aurelians* in Honour of him, and concluded the Solemnity with playing of *Prizes*, or Combates between the *Gladiators*.

The *Deifying* of his Father was no ſooner over, but *Antoninus* was crouded with Addreſſes from the Heathen Prieſts, the Philoſophers and Governours of Provinces, deſiring they might have the Liberty to revive the Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, who had been ſhelter'd from their Malice during the Reigns of *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius*. The Emperour who was no leſs an Enemy to Rigour than either of theſe Princes, and being inclinable beſides to govern by their *Maxims*, would by no Means hearken to this unreaſonable Requeſt: And to protect the Chriſtians from Violence in the remoter Provinces, he wrote to the *Convention* of *Aſia*, then ſitting at *Epheſus*, this admirable Letter ſecured us by *Euſebius*.

° Capitol.

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I'm well satisfied that the Practices of the Christians are not conniv'd at by the Immortal Gods, and that they'll take care to punish those that refuse to worship them much deeper than you can. As for the Persecutions you raise against these People upon the score of Religion, it does but fortify them the more in their Persuasion. And since they believe they lose their Lives for their God, you may imagine they'll rather wish for Death, and reckon it an Advantage. And thus they get the better of you upon the Experiment, chusing rather to die, than submit to your Orders. As to the Calamity of the late Earth-quakes, I think it not amiss to put you in Mind to compare your own Behaviour with theirs under such Misfortunes as these. Now their Reliance upon their Gods rises always in Proportion to their Danger; whereas your Courage presently sinks upon such an Occasion: Indeed you seem to behave your selves ignorantly during the whole Course of the Affliction; for you not only neglect the rest of the Gods, and overlook that Immortal Being worshipp'd by the Christians, but banish and persecute those People to Death who serve and adore him. Several Governours of Provinces have formerly written about this Business to the late Emperour our Father of Divine Memory: The Answer *they receiv'd was, that they should give that Persuasion no trouble, unless they found them practising against the State. Now I being willing to follow my Father's Measures, and being solicited by several Informations about this Matter, my Instructions were to the same Purpose.*

And therefore if any one for the future shall prosecute a Christian merely upon the Account of his Religion, the Christian shall be discharged and the Prosecutor punish'd. This *Letter* was publish'd in the Temple when the *Convention*, or *Common Council* of *Asia* was sitting.

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This *Order* was obey'd, and the Empire seem'd to be all over settled in Peace and Prosperity. Indeed the Beginning of this Reign was so happy and undisturb'd, that one would almost have thought the very Soul and Reason of *Antoninus Pius* had been transfus'd into his *Successors:* Which was the more to be wonder'd at, since in reality there was nothing more different than the Temper and Inclination of these two Princes.

Marcus Antoninus was settled and certain in his Humour, unpretendingly Grave, and not without a Mixture of Affability and Complaisance: He was both Merciful and Just, and no less Indulgent to others than Rigorous to himself; Deaf to the Charms of Vanity, immoveable in his Enterprizes, and Resolutions, which were never fix'd and taken up without mature Deliberation; being never swayed by Passion and Freak: He hated busy Informers, was religious without Affectation, untransported and free from Eagerness upon all Occasion; always under an Equality of Temper, always Master of himself, and resign'd to the Reason of the Case; a perfect Stranger to Disguise and Dissimulation, and always upon his Guard against the Excesses of Self-Love; never uneasy nor impatient, very inclinable to pardon the greatest Crimes against himself; but not to be prevail'd on, where Reasons of State and publick Interest required Severity. His Laws had a Regard to the common Advantage of all Ranks and Nations under his Government; neither could any Prince be more tender of the Property and Privileges of the *Subject*. The good of the Common-wealth was always his Rule to act by, from which he was never diverted by any private Fancy, Interest, or Ambition of his own. To conclude, since his Designs were only to oblige Mankind,

kind, and resign to *Providence*, he never strain'd his *Politicks* to the Prejudice of his *Morals*, but always kept within the Compass of Justice and Truth.

Lucius Verus had none of these good Qualities; his Inclinations were eager, unballasted, and lewd; 'tis true, he could not be tax'd with the Savage Fancies and Barbarities of some Tyrants, and that was the best of him. But this contrariety of Temper did not appear in the first Years of their Reign. The irresistible Merits of *Antoninus* made some Impression upon his Brother, insomuch that the Motives either of Shame or Gratitude gave check to his Humour, and kept him in Order, while they liv'd together. Nay he pretended to copy after this Prince, and imitate the Prudence of his Conduct: To give him his Due, he managed himself in every respect, as if *Marcus Antoninus* had been sole Emperour. For *Verus* treated him with the same Respect, or if you please with the same Submission, which a Deputy-Governour gives to a *Proconsul*, or a Governour of a *Province* to the Emperour himself. But 'tis a difficult Matter to keep Vice under any long Restraint. This Force served only to heighten Desire, and therefore *Verus* took Care not to lose the first Opportunity of throwing off the Disguise, and shewing himself in his natural Colours.

Commodus was born at the latter End of this first Year of *Antoninus*'s Reign. The Birth of this Prince, who proved a scandal to human Nature, was usher'd in with all the terrible Calamities imaginable [p]. The overflowing of the Tyber led the Way: The Inundation of this River was so violent, that it overturn'd a great Part of *Rome*, swept away abundance of Cattle, ruin'd the Coun-

[p] Lamp in Commod.

try

try round about, and occaſion'd an extraordinary Famine. [q] The two Emperours ſtept in immediately to the Relief of the People, ſupplied the Neceſſities of thoſe who had ſuffered, and repair'd the Damages with all the ſpeed that was poſſible. After this Inundation there happen'd Earthquakes, great Fires in ſeveral Cities, and an univerſal Infection of the Air, which produced ſuch an infinite Number of Inſects on the ſuddain, that what little Forage the Floods had left was deſtroy'd by this Plague: And at the ſame time the whole World ſeem'd to be up in Arms, and the Miſeries of War were juſt breaking in from every Quarter. The *Parthians* headed by their King *Vologeſes*, ſurpriz'd the *Roman* Troops in *Armenia*; and cut them in Pieces; from thence they march'd into *Syria*, and forced the Governour *Attilius Cornelianus* to quit the Country: The *Catti* ravaged *Germany*, and the Country of the *Griſons* with Fire and Sword; and the *Britains* were juſt upon the Verge of an Inſurrection.

Calpurnius Agricola was diſpatched againſt the Revolt in Great *Britain*, *Aſſidius Victorinus* againſt the *Catti*, and the *Parthian* Expedition was reſerv'd for *Verus*, who left the *Town* ſome few Days after [r].

Marcus Antoninus being by the Poſture of Affairs oblig'd to ſtay at *Rome*, went with *Verus* as far as *Capua*, treated him with all the Regard imaginable, and gave him ſeveral of his Favourites, and principal Officers to attend him; which was done poſſibly to obſerve the Motions, and ſecure the Conduct of this Prince, or it may be, 'twas only to raiſe his Figure, and make his Court ap-

[q] Capitol. [r] Capitol.

pear

pear more magnificent; or lastly, which seems more probable, it might be design'd as a Check upon his Extravagance; and to keep him from flying out by the Authority of the Company. But all these Precautions signify'd nothing. For *Verus*, who was now quite tired with dissembling, was not at all over-aw'd by the grave Retinue which *Antoninus* had given him. As soon as this Emperour was out of Sight, *Verus* was resolv'd to knock off the Shackles, for now he had neither Fear, nor Fancy to continue restrain'd any longer: Now he suffer'd his Inclinations to strike out; forgot the Defeat of the *Roman* Legions, took no Notice that *Syria* was ready to revolt, but launch'd into Vice immediately, and went all the Lengths of an infamous Liberty; carrying his Debauchery to such an Excess, that it threw him into a dangerous Fit of Sickness at *Canusium*. This News being brought to *Rome*, *Antoninus*, tho' just come thither, set forward to visit him. But before he began his Journey he made *Vows* for his Brother's Recovery in a full House of the *Senate*; which upon his Return he very religiously perform'd, after he understood that *Verus* was embark'd.

This young Prince's Wildness recover'd with his Health, and his Sickness prov'd no sufficient Discipline to reform him. He pursued his Debaucheries in his Voyage; and upon his Arrival in *Syria*, he made a Halt at *Daphne*, part of the Suburbs of *Antioch*, and here he perfectly forgot himself to all the Purposes of Virtue, and Sobriety. This Place by Reason of the Temperature of the Climate, the Deliciousness of the Gardens, Fountains, and Groves, invited the Men of Pleasure thither, and was grown the very Seat, and Sink of Debauchery: Insomuch that People of Virtue and Reputation, were almost asham'd

to

to be seen there. *Verus* encreas'd the Scandal of this *Daphne* by such Improvements in Lewdness, as were mere Discoveries to the Inhabitants, tho' otherwise the greatest *Libertines* on the Face of the Earth.

In the mean time this Emperor's Generals fought the *Parthians* with great Success. [f] *Statius Priscus* took *Artaxata*; *Cassius* and *Martius Verus* routed *Vologeses*, made themselves Masters of *Seleucia*, sack'd and burnt *Babylon*, and *Ctesiphon*, and pull'd down the noble Palace of the *Parthian* Kings. These victorious Troops which had done such brave Exploits, and beaten an Army of five hundred thousand Men, had a worse Enemy to encounter at their Return [g], and were half of them destroy'd by Sickness and Famine. This Mortality lay so hard upon *Cassius*'s Army, that by that time he had reach'd *Syria* he was able to muster but a very few However, these Misfortunes made no Impression upon *Verus*'s Vanity, who immediately took the Title of Conqueror of *Armenia* and *Parthia*; as if he had fairly won all this Honour, by keeping out of the *Field*, and debauching at a Distance.

Marcus Antoninus, who pretended to know nothing of these Sallies, was of Opinion that Marriage was the most likely Expedient to retrieve him: His Daughter therefore *Lucilla* contracted to *Verus*, and one of the most beautiful Ladies living, was immediately put into the Hands of *Antoninus*'s Sister, in order to embark for *Syria*, the Emperour seeing them on their Way, as far as *Brundusium*. 'Tis said he once design'd to go along with her to *Verus*, but chang'd his Resolu-

[f] Capitol. in Vero. An. Dom. 163, 164, 165. [g] Dio. lib. 17.

tion

tion upon a Report being ſpread, that [v] the meaning of this Progreſs into *Syria* was only to get the Honour for himſelf of putting an End to the *Parthian* War. He ſtaid at *Brunduſium* till the Princeſs was embark'd, and wrote to the *Proconſuls* and Governours of Provinces, not to meet, nor attend her upon her Journey, telling them that the uſual Cavalcades and Solemnities upon ſuch Occaſions ſerv'd only to croud the People to Death.

Verus, who expected *Marcus Antoninus* [w] would come through, and make him a Viſit, and being afraid he ſhould hear of his Diſorders, left *Daphne*, and went to meet his Brother Emperour at *Epheſus*, from whence he departed ſome few Days after the Solemnity of his Marriage, and return'd to *Antioch* with his Empreſs; and here this great Lady ſoon learn'd to imitate the Liberties of *Verus*, and was too conformable to the Example her Mother *Fauſtina* had ſet her.

Verus having made a King of *Armenia*, and gain'd an entire Conqueſt over the *Parthians* [x], return'd to *Rome*, and had his Share in the Honour of a Triumph with *Marcus Antoninus*. His Return was likely to have been very Calamitous to the whole Empire, for he brought the Plague along with him, and left it in all the Places he marched through. The Cauſe of this Peſtilence was ſuppoſed to proceed from the following Accident. Upon the taking of *Babylon*, the Soldiers breaking in to *Appollo*'s Temple to plunder it, found a little golden Cabinet under Ground, which was no ſooner open'd, but ſuch a ſtrong Doſe of Infection flew out on't, that it poiſon'd

[v] Capitol. [w] Capitol. in Vero. [x] An. Dom. 167. or 168.

the Air to a vaſt Extent, and carried the Mortality from *Meſopotamia*, as far as *Gaul*. But this Conjecture apart, 'tis more probable the Plague was bred by the Famine and Diſeaſes in *Caſſius*'s Army, at his Return from the Defeat of the *Parthians*.

About this Time the *Germans* revolted, made an Irruption into *Italy*, and put the Country under Military Execution [y].

Pertinax, [z] a Man of known Bravery, tho' by the ill Offices of ſome envious People his Fidelity being ſuſpected, neither his own Merit nor the Intereſt of his Friends, could ever prefer him any higher than to the Command of ſome Auxiliaries; this Perſon, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Courtiers, was pitch'd on with his Friend *Claudius Pompeianus* [a], to make head againſt this terrible Invaſion, which threatned as far as *Rome* it ſelf. *Antoninus* made them both his Generals, and was reſolv'd they ſhould ſhare with him in the Honour of this Expedition. *Pertinax* being highly ſenſible of the Favour of this Truſt, took care that the Emperour ſhould have no Cauſe to repent it; and gave no leſs Proof of his Honeſty than of his Experience, and Courage. In ſhort, the *Romans* charg'd the Enemy briſkly, who receiv'd them in good Order, and fought with great Reſolution. The Fight was obſtinate, and held a great while, but at laſt the *Germans* were cut in Pieces; and which is remarkable, they found a great many Women in Armour amongſt the Dead, who fell fighting by the ſides of their Huſbands and Children.

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[y] An. Dom. 168, 169. [z] He was afterwards Emperour. [a] Dio.

Thus a great Victory was gain'd, and the *Roman* Army had behav'd themſelves exceedingly well: However, the Emperour was not [a] to be prevail'd on by any unreaſonable Demands; and therefore when the Soldiers petition'd him to raiſe their Pay, he refus'd them with this Anſwer: "That to give them Money extraordinary for "the Succeſs of the Battle, was in effect to *tax* "the Corps of their Parents and Relations, and "to ſet an *Exciſe* upon their Blood, for which "he was anſwerable to God Almighty, the only "Perſon to whom Princes are accountable. Indeed, let the Difficulty of the Juncture be what it would, he was always Maſter of ſo much Fortitude and Prudence, as never to be over-ruled beyond Juſtice, either out of Fear or Eaſineſs of Temper.

Upon this Succeſs he was proclaim'd *Emperour* the fifth time, the Victories of *Verus* having [b] given him the ſame *Title* four times before. The Night before the Battle a Spy being taken in the Camp, was brought to his Tent: And the Emperour having a mind to examine him, the Man told him; *I am ſo very Cold that I can't ſpeak, therefore if you would know any thing of me, you muſt firſt order me ſome Cloaths to my Back, if you have any.* The Emperour was not at all diſpleas'd with his Bluntneſs, but gave him what he aſk'd for, and ſo let him go.

And here we muſt not forget [c] the Exploit of a private Soldier, who ſtanding Centinel one Night on the Bank of the *Danube*, and hearing the Voice of ſome of his Fellow-Soldiers, whom the Enemy had taken by Surprize on the other ſide, he

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[a] Dio. [b] Id. [c] Id.

immediately swam the River in his Armour, disengag'd his Comrades, and brought them off with him into the Camp the same Way.

The Year following, there broke out a much more dangerous War than that which they had finish'd. The *Marcomanni* [d] and the *Quadi*, a very warlike People, rais'd a great Army, at which the *Romans* were extreamly dispirited, being in a very ill Condition to resist so powerful an Enemy, at a Time when the Plague raged violently both in Town and Countrey, and swept away vast Multitudes. The Emperour was the only Person not in Despair, his Confidence lay in the Protection of *Heaven*, for which he endeavour'd to qualify himself in the first place by the offering of Sacrifices: He made a Procession round about the *Town*, and the Statues of the Gods being laid upon Couches [e], a great Entertainment was serv'd up to them in their Temples; and for fear any acceptable Part of Worship should be omitted, all foreign Religions were taken in, and Priests sent for from almost every Quarter: And which is still more strange, he restor'd the *Solemnities* of *Isis*, which had been prohibited ever since the Time of *Augustus*, and made no scruple to worship that Goddess, whose Temple had been pull'd down in the Reign of *Tiberius*, the Decorations burnt, her Statue thrown into the *Tiber*, and her Priests knockt on the Head. There was so much Cattle sacrificed upon this Occasion, that some satyrical People, whose Tongues are never to be ty'd, made a Jest on't; and said, that if the Emperour should have

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[d] They dwelt in the Country now call'd *Bohemia*.

[e] The *Romans* used to eat in that Posture.

the

the good Luck to return Conquerour, he would ſcarcely be able to find a piece of Beef for the Gods in the whole Empire.

Thus when the religious Part was finiſh'd [f], he ſet forward againſt the Enemy, and took *Verus* along with him [g], who would gladly have been left at *Rome* to have carried on his Debauchery, but this *Antoninus* was willing to prevent: The two Emperours therefore marched directly for *Aquileia*, and immediately after their Arrival, made up to the *Marcomans*, who lay entrench'd not far off; and here they forc'd their Camp, and routed them with a great Slaughter. In this [h] Fight, *Furius Victorinus*, Captain of the Guards, with ſome of the beſt Troops, was cut off: However, this did not diſcourage the two Emperours from puſhing their Point, and going on with their Advantage: In ſhort, they preſs'd the Enemy ſo hard, that at laſt their Army grew Mutinous; upon which the greateſt part of their Confederates drew off their Forces, killed thoſe who adviſed the Revolt, and ſent to beg Peace of the *Romans*. *Verus* being ſatisfied with their Submiſſions, and [i] fond of the Liberties of the *Town*, was earneſt with *Antoninus* to grant them their Requeſt, and march home. *What greater Advantage*, ſays he, *can your Majeſty hope for than this Offer? Have you a mind to force your Enemies upon ſome deſperate Attempt, and ſhew them the Weakneſs of the Empire whether they will or no? Let us rather manage their Ignorance, and make the moſt of their Conſternation, and give them leave, while they are diſpos'd to't, to think more of a Retreat than a Revenge.* To this *Antoninus* anſwer'd, that there was no truſting to

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[f] Capitol. in Vero. [g] An. Dom. 169. [h] Capitol. [i] Capitol. in Vero.

theſe *Barbarians*; that their Pretence of Submiſſion was only to gain Time, and keep the Storm from falling upon them: That 'twas the Intereſt of the Empire to make Advantage of the Miſunderſtandings and Diſorders amongſt them, and not give them leiſure to agree, and rally all their Forces upon the *Romans*, when probably we ſhall be ſtill in a worſe Condition to receive them; and having thus deliver'd his Opinion, he immediately order'd his Troops to march.

The two Emperours paſs'd the *Alps* [k], purſued the Enemy, and defeating them ſeveral times, diſpers'd them entirely at laſt, and return'd without any conſiderable Loſs. Winter being now pretty forward, they reſolv'd to go into Quarters at *Aquileia*; but [l] the Plague forc'd them to alter their Meaſures, and go off with a few of their Troops. Upon [m] their March *Verus* was ſeiz'd with an Apoplectick Fit, near *Altinum*, whither he was carried, and where he died ſoon after: His Body was convey'd to *Rome* by *Antoninus*, who ſhew'd him the ſame Funeral Reſpect which had been paid to the [n] Emperour his Father, and ne'er ſcrupled to make a God of him.

I grant we have reaſon to believe that *Antoninus* was well enough ſatisfied with his Death; ſuch a Suppoſition is no leſs than what may be expected from the Prudence and Gravity of this Prince, and from the tender Regard he had for the Welfare of his People: But that, as a certain Hiſtorian adds [o], He ſhould publickly own his Satisfaction in a Speech of Thanks to the Senate, this is altogether incredible. However,

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[k] Capitol. [l] Galen. An. Dom. 170. [m] Capitol. in Vero. [n] Capitol. in Marc. [o] Idem.

that

that Author will have it, that the Emperour hinted to the *Houſe*, that *the* Parthian *War had never been ſo happily ended, had it not been manag'd by his Direction and Advice*; and then declar'd: *That having now the Sovereignty wholly in his own Hands, and no longer embarraſs'd with a debauch'd Aſſiſtant, he would alter his Meaſures, and begin a new Reign.* Now *Antoninus* was too Modeſt and too Wiſe to talk at this rate; ſuch Diſcourſe was neither ſuitable to his own Maxims, nor to the Character [p] he gives of *Verus* in his firſt Book, nor in fine to the Purport of his *Speech*, the Deſign of which was to thank them for ordering the Apotheoſis of *Verus*. His Enemies no doubt ſet this Report about, to give ſome Colour to another Calumny which they ſpread at the ſame time, that the Emperour having diſcover'd the Deſign of *Verus* to poiſon him, prevented him in his Plot, help'd him to a Doſe, and practis'd his own foul Play upon him; or, as ſome ſaid, prevail'd with his Phyſician to bleed him to Death. The Suſpicion of ſuch a Practice being too groſs to ſtick upon *Antoninus*, a great many People threw it upon *Fauſtina*; giving out, that this [q] Princeſs had reveng'd her ſelf by Poiſon upon *Verus*, being enraged againſt him for betraying the ſcandalous Correſpondence between them to his Empreſs *Lucilla*. But the moſt general Opinion was, that *Lucilla* was the Perſon that put him into this mortal Fit; for not being able to endure the Paſſion *Verus* had for his own Siſter *Fabia*, and being leſs concern'd at the Loſs of her Huſband's Affection, than at the haughty Behaviour of her Siſter-in-law, who with an In-

[p] Capitol. [q] Capitol. in Vero.

folence proportionable to her Lewdneſs, abus'd her Intereſt with her Brother, and treated the young Empreſs with Neglect: For this Reaſon *Lucilla* choſe rather to level her Revenge directly againſt *Verus*, than againſt her Rival, concluding from the proud Humour of *Fabia*, that to tumble her down in this manner from that criminal height of Greatneſs, to which her Inceſt had raiſed her, would be the ſevereſt Puniſhment imaginable: For being thus reduced to a private Station, and having no Countenance of Royal Authority to ſupport her, ſhe would be no longer in any Condition to diſpute Quality with the Daughter and Widow of an Emperour.

After the *Deification* was over, *Antoninus* being apprehenſive leſt the *Town* ſhould be infected with a worſe *Mortality* than that they had lately felt, by the Lewdneſs of thoſe manumis'd Slaves, who had the Aſcendant over *Verus* in *Syria*, and ſerv'd him in his Debaucheries, he reſolv'd to remove them from the Court: And to do it in a manner that might leaſt reflect upon his Brother's Memory, he ſent them off with conſiderable Offices into diſtant Countries; and thus, tho' they ſeem'd preferr'd, they were no better than decently baniſh'd: In ſhort, he kept none of them with him but *Electus*, of whom he had a much better Opinion than of the reſt.

The Liberty and Diſorders of the War reviv'd the old Malice of the *Heathens*, who taking no Notice of the Emperour's Orders, began to perſecute the *Chriſtians* in the remoter Provinces. St. *Polycarp* was the firſt that was ſacrificed; the Flames of whoſe Martyrdom ſerv'd for a ſort of *Beacon*, to light up the *Perſecution* in *Gaul* and *Aſia*: 'Tis pretended that *Antoninus* had a Hand in't; for upon the Lord-Deputy of *Gaul*'s writing

ting to the Emperour, to know his Pleaſure about ſome Chriſtians in Cuſtody, his Anſwer was, that *he would have him execute thoſe who confeſs'd, and diſcharge the reſt.* But here 'twas none of his Intention to make the owning of *Chriſtianity* Capital; his Meaning was only that thoſe ſhould ſuffer who could not clear themſelves of the Crimes charg'd upon them. For the Governours of Provinces and inferiour Magiſtracy perceiving that the only Way to oppreſs the *Chriſtians*, was to aſperſe their Innocence, and ſurprize the Emperour by Miſinformation: Upon this View they uſed to load the *Indictment*, and make the pretended Criminal as black as poſſible; the Particulars of which they took Care to ſpecify in their *Packets* to Court; and to fortify the Evidence, tranſmitted the Depoſitions of ſome bribed or frighted Slaves, who being ſet upon the Rack, confeſs'd what they had a mind to. And thus having gain'd a general *Order*, by miſrepreſenting Matter of Fact, they explain'd it to their own Humour, and did what Miſchief they pleas'd. And don't ſuch Miſmanagement as this ſometimes happen under the beſt Emperours? Don't their Viceroys, Generals, and Magiſtrates often abuſe their Power, and miſbehave themſelves in their Poſts of Juriſdiction? And would it not be unreaſonable to charge the Violence and Injuſtice of the *Miniſters* upon the miſinterpreted and miſapply'd *Orders* of the *Prince?* He that conſiders the Circumſtances of *Time* and *Place*, together with the Temper of *Antoninus*, his good Nature, his Juſtice and Reſolution; he that conſiders this, can never believe that he would ſet a Perſecution on foot, after having ſo long and ſo publickly declar'd againſt it: That he ſhould do it when he was ſole Sovereign, and at a Time too when

the Plague and the War had almoſt diſpeopled the Empire. How can this pretended Severity be reconciled with the Emperour's Maxim, That *thoſe who miſs the Truth, are miſtaken againſt their Will, and deſerve more to be pitied than hated*[q]: To conclude; we have one certain Argument more, that *Antoninus* was no *Perſecutor*; becauſe there were no Martyrdoms at *Rome* during his whole Reign and Reſidence; nor ſo much as one drop of Chriſtian Blood ſhed within the *Bills* of *Mortality*.

Before the Year for *Verus*'s Mourning was expired, [r] *Antoninus* married his Daughter again to *Claudius Pompeianus*; this Perſon was ſomewhat old, and no more than the Son of a private Gentleman; but then he had all the Recommending Qualities imaginable, and was fit to be preferr'd to the higheſt Poſts of Truſt and Honour: His Fidelity and Courage, his Probity and old grave Way of living, his Experience, and his Reputation too, were all extraordinary. Theſe Conſiderations made the Emperour chuſe him before Noblemen of the beſt Quality and Figure; for Virtue and Merit were the Things he moſt valued, and always preferr'd to Fortune and Birth. The young Empreſs and her Mother were not overmuch pleas'd with this Match; but *Antoninus* having taken care that his Daughter ſhould not ſuffer in her Privileges, nor ſink in any part of her Quality, they both of them were ſatisfied at laſt. As for *Fauſtina*, ſhe was of Opinion her Daughter had loſt nothing, as long as ſhe was continued in the Title, and State of an Empreſs; And *Lucilla* who had a Mind to have her Liberty, and follow her Fancy, was ſomewhat pleas'd that ſhe had taken rather a Valet, than a Huſband.

[q] Book xi. Sect. 18. & alib. [r] An. Dom. 170.

Thus

Thus *Antoninus* having put his Daughter into good Hands, set forward to put an End to the War against the *Marcomanni*, who having now the *Quadi*, *Sarmatæ*, *Vandales*, and other Nations for their Confederates, came on more fierce and formidable than before: The Wars against *Hannibal*, and the *Cimbri*, did not carry more Terror along with them: In some of the first Disputes, the Emperour had the worst on't: For probably 'twas in this War, that that Defeat was given to his Troops which had likely to have cost him the Loss of *Aquileia*, which happen'd in the manner following.

Alexander, who pretended to Prophesy, and whose Life is written by *Lucian* [f], had so great a Reputation at that time, that People look'd upon him as a kind of a Deity: This Impostor had the Confidence to send the Emperour this Oracle in Verse.

Gurgitibus fluvii turgentis ab imbribus Istri
Immisisse duos Cybeles edico Ministros;
Monte foras alitas; tum quantum alit Indicus aer
Florum atq; Herbarum benecolentum; moxq; futura est,
Et Victoria, pax & amabilis, & Decus ingens.

Two Slaves of Cybel's, [t] *with* Arabian *Sweets,*
Let them be thrown into the Ister's *Stream;*
This Water-Sacrifice will rout the Foe,
And bless the Empire with a glorious Peace.

Antoninus [v] comply'd with the Oracle either out of a superstitious Principle, or else to satisfy the Army, whose Spirits he believ'd would be

[f] Lucian. in Pseudomant. [t] Two Lions. [v] Baron. ad Ann. Chr. 171.

raised

raiſed by ſuch an Expectation. The two Lions were accordingly thrown into the River, with a great Quantity of ſweet Herbs, Flowers, and Gums. Theſe Lions had no ſooner croſs'd the River, but the Enemy knock'd them on the Head. Soon after the Battle began; and the *Romans* were ſo ill handled, that they loſt above twenty five thouſand Men, and were purſued as far as *Aquileia*, which had certainly been taken by the *Barbarians*, had not the Emperour rallied his Troops and perform'd the Part of a brave and experienc'd General. And now the Diſhonour his Men had receiv'd fir'd their Courage, and made them fight the better; inſomuch that they routed the Enemy, and at laſt drove them out of *Pannonia* [w].

While this War was depending, the Moors haraſs'd *Spain*; and the *Egyptian* Herdſmen, as they were call'd, being a ſort of *Banditti*, run to Arms, and being headed by a Prieſt, and one *Iſidorus*, a ſtout Fellow, [x] ſurpriz'd a *Roman* Garriſon. The Stratagem was this. They diſguis'd themſelves in their Wives Cloaths, and pretended their Buſineſs was to pay the Governour of the Fort a Sum of Money. This Officer being over-Credulous, fell into the Snare, and had his Throat cut [y], with the reſt of the Garriſon. Thus fleſh'd with Succeſs, the Rebels ſacrificed a Priſoner, and over his reeking Bowels, which they eat afterwards, ſwore themſelves deeper into the Revolt, and that they would never deſert their Party. Upon this, they encountred the *Roman* Troops, and defeating them ſeveral Times, had made themſelves Maſters of *Alexandria*, if *Antoninus* had not order'd *Caſſius*, who commanded in

[w] *Hungary An Dom.* 170. 171. or as ſome ſay *An Dom.* 168.
[x] Dio. [y] Dion in Marc. lib. lxiii. Capitol. 21. Volcat. in Caſs. 6.

Aſia

Asia, to march against them. *Cassius* was too weak to attack these *Barbarians*, who were both very numerous and very desperate, and led on by a Person of extraordinary Courage: However, he was lucky enough to make a Misunderstanding in their Camp, which Advantage he manag'd so well, that at last they were routed, and dispers'd.

The [z] Moors in *Spain* had no better Success than the *Egyptians*, for the Emperour's Generals cut off a great part of them, and clear'd the Countrey of the rest.

In the mean time *Antoninus* follow'd his blow against the Rebels in the *North*, and fatigued them to that Degree, by gaining almost every Day considerable Advantages upon them; that at last he made them come to, and submit to his own Terms; and then returning to *Rome* he kept the Solemnity of the *Decennalia* [a], and observ'd those religious Ceremonies which were usual upon the Occasion.

During the Peace, the Emperour employ'd himself in reforming the Laws, and correcting the Faults in the Administration. To give some Instances. First, To the End that those who were Free-born, might never be at a Loss to prove their Privilege, he order'd every Citizen in *Rome* to go to the *Treasury* in *Saturn*'s Temple, where the Publick *Records* were kept, and there give an [b] Account of the Number of his Children; and in the *Provinces* also, he set up *Offices* to register the Births in every Family.

He [c] very wisely prohibited all Enquiries into the Circumstances and Condition of the Dead,

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[z] Capitol. [a] The Emperours every tenth Year of their Reign used to keep a religious Festival. [b] Capitol. [c] Id. 10

after

after the Term of five Years. And that Malefactors might not be too long unpuniſh'd, nor the Subject ſuffer ſo much by the Interruption of the *Holy Days*; he followed *Auguſtus*'s Precedent, and lengthen'd the *Law Term*; ſo that now the *Courts* ſat two hundred and thirty Days in the Year: This Method had two good Conſequences; for thus Cauſes were diſpatch'd with more Expedition, and a great many Temptations to Idleneſs and Debauchery remov'd out of the Peoples Way.

He took particular Care of the Concerns of *Minors*, and erected a new Court for that purpoſe; the Judge of it was call'd *Prætor Tutelaris*, becauſe he aſſign'd *Guardians*, and tried all the Cauſes depending between them and the *Infant*. He likewiſe made a Supplemental Proviſion to the *Law* call'd *Lex Lætoria*; which order'd a ſort of *Guardians* [d] to Adult *Minors* only in Caſes of Diſtraction or Debauchery, whereas all ſuch Perſons were now to be under that Check without Exception.

He was ſo careful to prevent unlawful Marriages, and to keep People from running within the prohibited Degrees, that he null'd a Marriage of many Years ſtanding between a Woman of Quality, [e] and her Uncle, but at the ſame time declar'd the Children legitimate. The Emperour's *Reſcript*, or Order ſent to this Lady by a Manumis'd Slave, is ſtill extant; it runs in the Name of *Verus* and *Antoninus*, and is very well worth the inſerting.

The long time you have been married to your Uncle [f], *the Number of your Children, and your being*

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[d] Curatores. [e] Her Name was *Flavia Tertulla*. [f] Digeſt. Lib. 23. Tit. 11. 57.

diſpos'd

disposed of by your Grandmother, at an Age when you were not capable of understanding the Laws and Customs of our Empire, are Considerations of Weight with us; all these Reasons concurring, prevail upon us to allow your Issue, by this Marriage of forty Years standing, the Quality and Privileges of their Family, and to make them as much Legitimate, as if they had been born in lawful Wedlock.

He [g] moderated the Charge of publick Solemnities, and Entertainments, and lessen'd the Number of the *Roman Shews*, that by this Means he might hinder his Subjects from being over-fond of trifling Diversions, and prevent their Ruin by such unnecessary Expence, and which was often manag'd so unluckily, as to create mortal Feuds between the best Families. He likewise regulated the *Players* Salary, and order'd it not to exceed such a Sum.

He [h] took great Care to keep the Streets, and High-ways in good Repair; he reform'd the Abuses at *Auctions*, and restrain'd the *Bankers* from taking unreasonable Interest. He very much mollified the Rigour of the *Law*, by which *Aliens*, who were either *Legatees* or *Heirs*, were oblig'd to pay the twentieth Part of what fell to them, into the *Exchequer*; tho' this Burthen had been in some Measure made lighter by the Emperour *Trajan*. He also provided that Children should inherit their Mothers Estates, who died *Intestate*.

The *Romans* had a Law that those who were not originally *Italians*, in Case they stood for any Office at *Rome*, should be oblig'd to lay out a Third of what they were worth upon Land in

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[g] Capitol. 11. [h] Id. 9.

Italy, that so they might look upon that, and the *Town*, as their own Countrey: *Antoninus* relax'd a little upon this Point, and bound them to no more than a Fourth.

He was particularly careful of the Honour, and Interest of the Senate. For he not only remitted a great many Causes to the *House*, which used to be try'd at the *Council Board*; but also impower'd them to give Judgment without Appeal. He commonly reserv'd the Offices of *Ædiles* [i] and *Tribunes*, or *Treasurers*, for those Senators who were decay'd in their Fortunes, provided they were not grown poor by their Vice and Extravagance. 'Twas never his Way to receive any Person into this Order without the Consent of the whole *House*, nor then till he had strictly enquired into his Character. When any Nobleman was tried for his Life, he always took Care to be fully inform'd of the Matter alledg'd against him, and never suffer'd any *Commoner*, tho' of the best Rank, to be concern'd in Causes of this Nature. His Custom was to come to this *Senate* [k], or *House* of *Lords*, as often as his Affairs would give him leave, tho' he had nothing to move; and when he had any Business to *propose*, he made no Difficulty to come up to *Town*, from the remoter Parts of *Italy*. The greatest Part of the Curators [l] of Towns, were chosen by him out of the *Senate*; being perfectly of *Augustus*'s Mind, that a Prince by raising the Character of the chief Magistrates; makes his own Figure shine out the better, and fortifies the Royal Authority, which neither can, nor ought to stand upon any other than a just Bottom.

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[i] The *Ædiles* set forth the Publick Shews, regulated the Weights and Measures, survey'd the Buildings, Highways, *&c.*
[k] Capitol. [l] Somewhat like our Mayors and Aldermen.

His

His Regard for the *Senate* did not prevent his Favours coming down to the inferiour Magiſtracy, nor indeed from reaching the Subject in general [m]. He never thought any Perſons, let their Condition be never ſo mean, beneath his Concern; his Care ſtoop'd even to the *Gladiators* and *Rope-dancers*, ordering the firſt to fight with *Foins* or Buttons upon their Swords, and that the other ſhould have Feather-beds or Mats ſpread under them, to prevent the Danger of a Fall; and from hence the Cuſtom began, of hanging Nets under the *Rope* a great while after.

He made very ſevere Laws to ſecure [n] the Privilege of Burying-places, and to prevent the defacing of Tombs and Monuments; he likewiſe order'd that the Poor ſhould be buried at the publick Charge: And how inclinable he was to pardon a Malefactor, we may learn from the following Inſtance. A Captain of a Troop of *Banditti*, who had a mind to be plundering of *Rome*, bethought himſelf of this Opportunity: He goes into *Mars*'s *Field* in the Suburbs, climbs a wild Fig-tree there, and entertains the Mob with abundance of Prognoſtications, telling them withal, that upon ſuch a Day, when they ſaw him fall off the Tree, and turn himſelf into a Stork, the Sky would rain Fire, and lay the World in Aſhes. The People, being generally given to Superſtition, and over-credulous, ſwallow'd this Prophecy with a great deal of Belief and Admiration; and in the mean time the Comrades of this Figure-flinger made their Advantage of their Folly and ſtrolling from home. When the Day for this terrible *Metamorphoſis* was come, the

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[m] Dio. Capitol. 12. [n] Capitol. 13.

Knave drops off the Fig-tree, and in the Tumble lets a Stork looſe out of his Boſom with a good cleanly Conveyance, and then dives himſelf out of ſight in the Crowd: The *Mob* were ſtrangely amaz'd at this Miracle, and expecting a Shower of Fire would come powdring down upon them, made a great Hubbub and Confuſion in the City. The Emperour being inform'd of this Adventure, had the pretended Prophet brought before him; and after having gotten the Truth out of him upon promiſe of Pardon, he was as good as his Word, tho' notwithſtanding his ſtoical Gravity, he could ſcarcely forbear laughing at the Fellow's Roguery.

He made uſe of all ſorts of Expedients to reform the Miſbehaviour and Diſorders among Women and young People of Condition; not knowing how much his own Family was concern'd in theſe Misfortunes. For he was ſtill ignorant of the Liberties taken by his Empreſs *Fauſtina*, as we may eaſily perceive by his Letters to her a little before her Death: And beſides, we have reaſon to believe, that had he been acquainted with her Irregularities, he would rather have made uſe of proper Remedies, than conceal'd the Injury: Indeed we can't ſuppoſe him capable of ſo ſcandalous an Indulgence, eſpecially ſince ſuch Abuſe of Families was ſeverely puniſh'd in private Perſons by the *Roman* Laws. I grant a certain Hiſtorian is of another Opinion, who reports, that when the Emperour was adviſ'd by ſome of his Friends to be divorc'd from *Fauſtina*, upon the ſcore of her ill Conduct, he made anſwer, *I muſt return her her Fortune then* [o].

[o] Vid. Salmaſ. & Caſaub. in Capitol. c. 6.

Now

Now this Jeſt of an Anſwer has taken mightily, and gone a great Way in Peoples Belief.

I am not ignorant of the Riſque a Man runs, in oppoſing his private Sentiment againſt Authority and common Belief. However, ſince there is but one Hiſtorian who delivers this Paſſage, and even he none of the moſt conſiderable for Indifferency, Judgment, and Exactneſs, one may very well imagine that the Credit of this *Sentence* is not ſo much owing to its own Truth, as to the Negligence and Inadvertency of thoſe that took it upon Truſt. For, granting the Empire was really *Fauſtina*'s *Portion*, as we muſt ſuppoſe in Favour to the Hiſtorian, this *Anſwer* notwithſtanding would have been improper, and unworthy the Character of *Antoninus*, who ſcorn'd to hold the Empire of the World by ſuch a ſcandalous *Tenure* P. But then the Empire's being *Fauſtina*'s *Dower*, was ſo far from Matter of Fact, that it was really ſettled upon *Antoninus*, before there was any Proſpect of this Marriage: For when *Adrian* adopted this Emperour, he oblig'd him to a Contract with the Daughter of *Lucius Commodus*.

That Satyrical Stage-Jingle upon the Name of *Tertullus* q, when the Emperour was at a Play, proves nothing: For *Antoninus* had no Neceſſity

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P Capitol. 4. q At a certain Play where the Emperour was preſent, one of the Actors aſk'd another, *What was the Name of the Lady's Gallant or Whore-Maſter:* The other made Anſwer, as it were with ſome little Difficulty of Recollection, *Tullus, Tullus, Tullus.* He that put the Queſtion being impatient to know the Name, replies, *What ſay you? I told you*, ſays his Friend in the Dialogue, *Ter Tullus*, that is, I have repeated *Tullus ter* or *thrice*, which is as much as to ſay, the Man's Name is *Tertullus.* Cpitol. 20.

of taking this Jeſt to himſelf, there being enough beſides to juſtify the Application.

The appearing in great Cities in a Coach, a Horſe-litter, or on Horſe-back, was already prohibited by *Adrian:* This Law was reviv'd by *Antoninus* under expreſs Penalties; for he could not endure a Circumſtance peculiar to *Triumph* ſhould grow cheap by common Uſage, and that the Subject ſhould take the Liberty of an Equipage, which even the Emperours declin'd, unleſs upon extraordinary Occaſions.

He was fully perſuaded, that the preferring unworthy Perſons to the Magiſtracy, was one of the greateſt Misfortunes that could happen to a Prince. And thus taking all poſſible Precaution to prevent ſuch a Miſchief from himſelf, he never made any Difficulty to deny an unreaſonable Requeſt: A Perſon of a very ill Reputation having begg'd an Office of him, he gave him this Anſwer; *Purge your ſelf firſt of thoſe bad Reports that go of you:* To this the Man preſently replied, *Sir, I know ſeveral Judges as great Rakes as my ſelf.* The Emperour took no Notice of his Boldneſs, but made it his Buſineſs not to give any Occaſion to ſuch Reproaches for the future.

When he found any Perſon qualified to ſerve the Publick, he gave them their due Commendation, and put them into ſuch Poſts as they were fit for: Upon ſuch Occaſions he us'd to ſay, *That tho' a Prince* [r] *could not make his Subjects what he had a mind to, yet 'twas in his Power to turn them to Account*, by employing them in ſuch Buſineſs as they underſtood. No ſort of Conſideration could make him over-look Merit and Capacity

[r] Dio.

in

in any Perſon: Nor did ever any Prince delight more in making the Fortune of his Friends. Some of them were rais'd by him to the higheſt *Poſts* in the Government; and thoſe who had pitch'd upon a Condition of Life, which lay out of the Way of Employment and Office, he took Care to preſent them largely, and ſettle ſuch Penſions upon them, as might make them Amends for the Privacy of their Station, and for their voluntary baulking themſelves in their Intereſt and Honour; but at the ſame time he always avoided the granting of Penſions to ſuch as were perfectly inſignificant to the Commonwealth: Not forgetting the wiſe Maxim of his Father *Antoninus Pius*, who uſed to ſay, *That* [t] *'twas a ſhameful Piece of Injuſtice to let thoſe People feed upon the Publick, who were too lazy to ſerve it.* As for the Poor, they never applied to him in vain; and the relieving of them was ſo great a Pleaſure to him, that he look'd upon it as one of the greateſt Happineſſes of his Life, never to have been unfurniſh'd for this Purpoſe; and [u] returns Thanks to the Gods for this conſtant Opportunity of doing Good.

In the [v] puniſhing Part, his Method was to mitigate the Sentence, and go lower than the Rigour of the *Law*. He was ſo exact in the Buſineſs of *Juſtice*, eſpecially in criminal Cauſes, that he reprimanded one of his Judges ſeverely, for ſlubbering over a Tryal of ſome Perſons of Faſhion, and condemning them in a Hurry: He made the Judge grant the Priſoners a new Tryal, and told him withal, *That* [w] *the leaſt thing which a Magiſtrate commiſſion'd for Juſtice could do, was to have*

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[t] Capitol. in Pio. 7. [u] Book 1. Sect. 17. [v] Capitol. 24. [w] Id. 12.

Patience to hear what People of Condition could say for themselves. Another Judge having misbehav'd himself in a Cause of great Concern, the Emperour instead of turning him out, made him lie by a little, and assign'd his Jurisdiction to a Brother of the same *Bench.* In short, he left no Expedient untry'd to discourage People from doing amiss, and to engage them to their Duty: He rewarded their Merits, screen'd their Failings, and corrected their greater Faults, by such a Temper of Discipline, as carried more Advantage than Rigour along with it.

As none of the Actions of Princes are without Force and Example, but do either a great deal of Good, or Mischief to their Subjects, so *Antoninus*'s making *Philosophy* his Inclination, had likely to have been very prejudicial to the *Romans:* For now the Empire was almost over-run with pretending *Sages*, who, to spunge upon their Prince, took the Habit and Title of *Philosophers*, but left the good Qualities behind them, insomuch that they were not only burthensome to private Families, but even to the *State* it self. The Emperour being sensible of this Disorder, put a Stop to it; for now the Sham Philosophers were thrown out of all Privilege and Favour granted to that Faculty, and none but Men of approved Virtue, Character, and Merit, taken into the *College.*

He us'd to say that an Emperour ought never to precipitate any Business, nor dispatch it, as it were *En passant*, and that Negligence in little Matters, is sometimes an Occasion of great Mistakes. When a Cause was before him [x], he always used to give the Lawyers what Time they

[x] The *Roman* Emperours used to try Causes themselves.

desired

desired in their Argument: For he look'd upon it as a very rash and unadvis'd Method, to limit a Hearing to so many Minutes, without knowing the Extent, or the Importance of the Matter to be alledg'd, especially since Patience is one Part of *Justice*; and that 'tis much better to suffer the *Long Robe* to plead twenty things foreign and wide of the Case, than to hinder them from saying one that's Material, and to the Purpose. He [y] used the same Care and Exactness in smaller Causes, as in those of the greatest Concern, it being his Maxim that *Justice* ought to be uniform, and hold out to the whole length of her Administration, and that nothing relating to Right and Wrong was little. And [z] thus he would sometimes spend ten or twelve Days upon a *Tryal*, and keep the Council at the *Board* till night; neither would he ever leave the Senate, till the Consul had dismiss'd the *House* in this customary Form, [a] *My Lords, we have no more trouble to give you:* And which made all this Patience and Application the more remarkable, his Constitution was but weak, he could not bear the least Cold, nor venture himself with any more than a slender Meal, which he always eat at night, and took nothing in the Day-time but a little Treacle to secure his Stomach. But none of these Disadvantages could make him indulge, or neglect any of those Publick Functions, which, as he us'd to speak, the Character of a Prince, and Legislator, oblig'd him to.

He [b] could not endure Trifling, but counted it a great Crime to throw away the least Minute to no Purpose. That time, which in Compli-

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[y] See Book 4. Sect. 2. [z] Capitol. 10. [a] Dio. [b] Capitol.

ance to Cuſtom, he ſpent at the *Publick Shews*, was not altogether loſt; for even then, 'twas always his Method either to write or read. In his Voyages and Expeditions, and when he was moſt embarraſs'd with Buſineſs, he made the uſual Intermiſſions for Sleep and Recreation turn to ſome very ſignificant Account. Theſe Intervals he generally employ'd in converſing with himſelf, in examining his Conduct, the State of his Mind, and the Quality and Condition of his Enterpriſes: 'Tis to this Vigilance, and Care of himſelf, that we are indebted for his excellent *Meditations*. By the Date of his two firſt Books, we are inform'd that the one was written at *Carnuntum*, and the other in his *Camp* amongſt the *Quadi*, when the Emperour was engag'd in the moſt formidable War of his whole Reign. This great Frugality of Time produced ſeveral other Pieces which have fallen ſhort in the Conveyance. The loſs of his *Commentaries*, or the Hiſtory of his Life, which he left for his Son's Inſtruction, is that which is moſt to be lamented.

'Twas always his Opinion that the Credit and Security of the Government depended chiefly upon good Meaſures; for this Reaſon he would never undertake any thing in War, or Peace, without the Advice of his *Privy Council*; and which is more, not without conſulting thoſe who had the beſt Reputation for Senſe, whether *Courtiers*, *Burghers*, or *Senators:* And here he was ſo far from the Vanity of Dragging the reſt into his own Opinion, that he was always glad of a Reaſon to follow the *Board*; and uſed to ſay; [c] *'Tis much more accountable for me to reſign to the Ad-*

[c] Capitol. 22.

vice

vice of such great Men who are all my Friends, than that so many wise Heads should be over-rul'd by my single Opinion. And to cure that common, but dangerous Mistake, which makes it uncreditable to yield up an Opinion, he has left us this significant Truth in one of his Meditations, *That a Man that goes into the Sentiment of another, is no less at his Liberty, than if he had stuck close to his first Thought; for 'tis purely his own Sense and Judgment that prevails with him to alter his Mind.*

He counted it a great Crime to wrap the least from Veracity and good Faith; and to prevent being surpriz'd by the false Reasoning of those *Politicians* who pretend, that a wise Prince is not to be tied to his Engagements, when they disserve his Interest; that Promises are only things of Course, nothing but handsome Baits to catch the unwary; to keep these knavish Principles from getting within him; he lays down this admirable Maxim, which all Princes are concern'd to take notice of; *Take a special Care* (says he) *never to count any thing an Advantage that will force you, at one time or other, to break your Word* [d].

As Reasons of State directed; He frequently chang'd the Governours of *Provinces*, taking those into his own Hands which had been managed by *Proconsuls* in behalf of the Senate and Commons, and giving them others govern'd by Deputies and Viceroys Commissionated by himself: And here according to *Augustus*'s Rule, he gave the People such *Provinces* as he could most confide in, and receiv'd those of which he was less assur'd.

He [e] loved to be throughly informed of what People said of him; not to punish those who

[d] Book 3. Sect. 7. [e] Capitol. 20.

took too much Liberty, but to learn what was liked, or disliked in his Management; the Use that he made of publick Censure, or Commendation, being only to recover a false Step, or go on in a defensible Method, with better Assurance. And when his Administration, or private Conduct were blam'd without Reason, his Custom was to reply to the Charge either by Letter or Word of Mouth; not so much to justify himself, as to undeceive those that spread the [f] Report, and acquaint them with Matter of Fact.

He would never admit of those over-grown ambitious Titles, which us'd to be given to other Princes, nor suffer any Temples or Altars to be built for him; being fully convinc'd, that the Flattery of the Subject signifies nothing in true Greatness, that 'tis the peculiar Privilege of Virtue, to raise up a Monarch to the Gods; and that a Prince remarkable for Justice has the whole World for his Temple, and all honest Men will be his Priests to worship him.

The [g] *Marcomanni*, whose Submissions were only to deceive the Emperour, and make their Advantage by his drawing off, levyed Forces again, and menaced higher than ever. This Enemy had now enlarg'd their Confederacy, and made themselves more formidable than before, by being reinforc'd with all the Nations from *Illyricum* to *Gaul* [h]. On the other side, the *Roman* Troops were very much lessen'd both by Plague and Service, and the Exchequer quite exhausted by a long War, insomuch that the Emperour found himself in greater Difficulties than ever. The

[f] Capitol. 22. [g] Capitol. 22. [h] From *Slavonia* to the *Rhine*.

first

first Part of this Misfortune was remedied by listing the *Gladiators*, the *Banditti* of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, and the *Slaves* too, which was never done since the second *Punick* War. And here 'tis very remarkable to observe, that the *Romans* were very loath to lose their Diversions, to save their Skins: They were mighty warm to have their *Fencers* discharg'd: The Streets were crowded with Tumults, and they were perpetually bawling out such Sentences as this; *What?* [i] *must we be condemn'd to Sense in spight of our Teeth? Are we all to be made Philosophers; and must never see any Prizes, and fine Sights any more?* The Emperour was not in the least shock'd with this Disturbance; he was no stranger to the Temper of the *People*; he knew very well, that though they made a Man a Brute one Day, they'd make a God of him the next, provided he maintain'd his Ground, and stood firm to a reasonable Resolution [k].

The main Difficulty of raising Money was still behind; which by a Prince of *Antoninus*'s Goodness was not so easily master'd: For he could not endure the Thought of laying any new Taxes upon the People. The [l] best and quickest Expedient for a Fund, which he could pitch on, was to follow the Precedent of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and sell the Furniture of his Palaces. Now the Subject being not allow'd to have their Houses so richly furnish'd, or be serv'd in Gold, or Silver Plate like the Emperour; to promote the Sale therefore, *Antoninus* was forced to permit Persons of Quality to make their Figure and Equipage, as magnificent as they pleas'd. Upon this Liberty the *Auction* began; and all [m] the best

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[i] Capitol. 23. [k] See Book 4. Sect. 16. [l] Plin. in Panegyr. [m] Capitol. Eutrop.

of

of the Crown Jewels, Paintings, Chryſtals, Plate and Hangings, together with the Empreſs's Wardrobe, were ſet to Sale, and ſo were a vaſt Number of rich Pearls in *Adrian*'s Cabinet. Now the *Romans* who were too poor to carry on the War, to ſecure their Country, and aſſiſt a brave Prince, found Money enough to buy his Furniture: This *Auction* laſted two Months, and rais'd ſuch a vaſt Sum, that the Emperour was plentifully ſupply'd for the Charge of the Campaign. At his coming home he publiſh'd a Proclamation to let them know, it would be kindly taken if they would return the things at the Price paid for them, but forc'd no body to part with them againſt their Will.

Before [n] he took the Field he loſt his youngeſt Son *Verus Cæſar*; this Prince was but ſeven Years old, and died of an Impoſthumation in his Ear, the Phyſicians lancing the Tumour before 'twas ripe. He bore this Loſs like a Man of Fortitude, would not ſuffer *Jupiter*'s Holy Days, which happen'd at that time, ſhould be diſturb'd by a publick Mourning, ſpoke kindly to the Phyſicians, and paid them well for their Attendance; and was ſatisfied in getting a golden Statue voted for his Son, which he order'd to be carried about in a pompous Manner at the *Circenſian* Diverſions; and that the *Salii* [o] ſhould make a panegyrical Poem in Honour of the Deceas'd: Theſe Ceremonies being over, he reaſſum'd his Buſineſs, and took Care of the Government, and having beg'd the Aſſiſtance of the Gods by ſacrificing, and Devotion, ſet forward againſt the Enemy.

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[n] Capitol. 22. [o] Prieſts of *Mars*.

This

This Expedition was much longer and more troubleſome than all the reſt. The Emperour being come up to *Carnuntum*, which he made his Head Quarters, paſs'd the *Danube* upon a Bridge of Boats, at the Head of his Troops, march'd on to the Enemy, beat them in ſeveral Diſputes, and burnt their Villages; upon which ſeveral great Lords of the Confederacy being amaz'd at the Progreſs of his Victories, came in, and ſubmitted. One Day as he was ſearching in Perſon for the Ford of a River which ſtopp'd his March, and was a ſort of Fortification to the *Barbarians*; the Enemy's *Slingers* on the other ſide the Water diſcharg'd ſuch a Volley of Stones upon him, that he had certainly been loſt, if his Men had not immediately come up and cover'd him with their Shields. This ſurprize ſerv'd only to make the Army advance with greater Reſolution: ſo that paſſing the River in a Heat, they pour'd in upon the *Barbarians*, and made a great Slaughter of them. After the Rout, the Emperour went to view the Field of Battle, not to boaſt of his Victory nor entertain himſelf with a bloody Spectacle; but to weep over the Wounds and Misfortune of the Dead; and to preſerve thoſe who were not paſt help; and before he marched any farther he offer'd Sacrifices upon the Place.

The [p] *Quadi* concluding, and that reaſonably enough, they ſhould be purſued, left ſome Companies of Archers, ſupported by a Body of Horſe, to ſkirmiſh with the Enemy, and pretend to diſpute the Ground: And here the *Romans* preſs'd on with more Courage than Caution, a Fault not uncommon in thoſe who have the better of the Day.

[p] Dio. Baron. Annal. ad Ann. Chriſti. 176.

They

They attack'd the Archers with great Vigour, who according to Orders gave Way; and counterfeiting a hasty Retreat, drew the *Romans* into a sort of *Defile*, and enclos'd them between a Ledge of steep and sandy Mountains. The Emperour's Men not perceiving the Danger they were in; and thinking nothing too hard for their Bravery, fought very briskly at first, notwithstanding the Disadvantage of the Ground: The Enemy were not so eager to push the Point, but stood barely upon the Defensive, being unwilling to run a hazard for an Advantage, which a little Patience would put into their Hands. The *Romans* were at a loss to explain this Conduct, till the excessive Heat pent in between the Mountains, their Wounds, their Wearinesse, and their Thirst, made them sensible of their Error. Then, when 'twas too late, they understood, that they could neither Retreat, nor Fight, that they must either be scorch'd and parch'd to Death, or have their Throats cut by the Enemy. And now things were brought to that Extremity, that neither Anger, nor Despair could raise their Spirits: The Emperour who was much more concern'd for their Misfortune than his own, rid about the Army, and endeavour'd both by Persuasion and Sacrifice to reassure them, and retrieve their Courage: But they had no Faith in their Devotions, and neither Rhetorick, nor Religion signified any thing. And now being harrass'd, and just spent by the Heat of the Weather, the Enemy prepar'd to attack them: So that expecting no manner of Relief either from their Courage, their Fortune, or their Gods, they look'd upon themselves as just ready to be sacrificed: And now when there was nothing but Groans and Howling to be heard, and things appear'd in the most lament-

lamentable Condition imaginable, all on the ſuddain the Sky was over-caſt, the Sun ſhrowded, and a prodigious Shower pour'd down upon their Camp. Theſe poor Wretches, who look'd more like Ghoſts than Men, and had ſcarcely Strength to ſtand on their Feet, where ſomewhat reviv'd at the Sight of this unexpected Rain; and imagining they ſhould find more of it by marching farther, preſs'd forward, and at the ſame Time held up their Mouths, their Head-pieces, and their Shields to catch the Water.

The [q] *Romans* were too buſy in quenching their Thirſt, to mind Diſcipline, and keep their Ranks; and thus their Forces being in ſome Diſorder, the *Barbarians* not willing to loſe the Opportunity, charg'd them on all ſides. The *Romans* fought and drank at the ſame time; and many of them ſwallow'd down their own Blood, which running from their Wounds, mix'd it ſelf with the Water they had provided.

Notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable Relief their Caſe was very deſperate, for ſtill there was no Hopes of holding out againſt the Force and Fury of the Enemy: When by another extraordinary Providence no leſs ſurprizing than the former, the ſame Clouds which refreſh'd the *Romans* with Rain, diſcharg'd a Storm of Hail, mix'd with Thunder, and Wildfire, in a terrible manner upon the *Barbarians*. And thus while the firſt quench'd their Thirſt at their Leiſure, the other were burnt, and almoſt roaſted by a Fire which was paſt their Skill to extinguiſh. Some Hiſtorians report, that when any of this Wildfire happened to light upon the *Romans*, it did them

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[q] Dio.

no

no Disservice, whereas on the other Hand, the Rain which fell amongst the *Barbarians*, was like Oil thrown into a Furnace, and made the Flames rage the fiercer; insomuch that they cried out for Water to cool the scalding of the Rain: Nay 'tis said many of them wounded themselves, to try if they could put out the Fire with their own Blood; and that Abundance of the rest came with their Wives and Children, and surrendred to the *Romans*, that they might have the Benefit of that miraculous Shower which was so favourable to them. Those who yielded were treated with great Clemency by the Emperour; but the Soldiers, who were more inraged at the Affront they had receiv'd, than affected with the Danger they had escap'd, cut all in Pieces that durst make any Resistance, routed the rest, and took a great many Prisoners.

The [r] Means and Occasion of this Deliverance are variously reported. Some said that one *Arnuphis*, an *Egyptian* Magician rais'd this Storm, at the Emperour's Instance, by the Stength of his Enchantments. For who can imagine that amongst such a Number of *Heathens* over-grown with Folly and Superstition, there should not be a great many very forward to give away the Honour of the Miracle to their own Religion? But this Conjecture is easily confuted by *Antoninus* in his first *Book* [s], where he tells us, that he was better instructed than to be *led away with the Impostures of Wizards, and Figure-flingers, who pretend they can discharge evil Spirits, and do strange Feats by Virtue of a Charm.*

Others [t] who had a great Opinion of the Emperour's Virtue and Piety, which indeed were

[r] Dio. Lamprid. in Heliogabal. [s] Sect. 6. [t] Capitol. 24.

extraordinary, imputed this wonderful Risque to the Prevalency of his Prayers. To confirm this, 'tis said, when the Day was just upon the Point of being lost, the Emperour lifting up his Hands, address'd himself to Heaven in this manner: *O Lord, the Author of Life, I humbly implore thy Assistance, and lift up those Hands to thee, which were never stain'd with Human Blood.*

The great Pains the *Heathens* took to carry off the Honour of this miraculous Event, proves thus much at least, that we have no Reason to question the Matter of Fact: However, if we wanted this Testimony, the Truth of the History may be prov'd by other Records of unquestionable Credit. Not fearing therefore the Censure of being over-credulous, or having a mind to support the Christian Religion by Fable and Falshood; an Artifice of which our Holy Faith has no manner of Need: Being satisfied, I say, of the Truth, I shall produce the Evidence. And here I desire to know, with what fair Pretence of Reason the Fact can be doubted, when 'tis vouch'd by Authors who liv'd at the same Time. The Relation is this: The Captain of the Guards having acquainted the Emperour, that God never deny'd any thing to the Christians; that he had a great Number of that *Persuasion* [v] in the *Melitene* Legion, a Town of *Cappadocia*; and that he thought it advisable for his Majesty to try if their Prayers could disengage him, since there was nothing to be expected from any other Quarter: Upon this the Emperour order'd these Christians to be brought before him, and desir'd them to pray to their God for him; which being done,

[v] Xiphilin.

their

their Prayers were immediately heard, and by the ſtrange Diſtinction and Pointing of the Storm, 'twas demonſtrably apparent that they belong'd to the true God, who had the Winds and Thunder at Command, and had often deliver'd his Servants by ſuch an extraordinary Interpoſition.

Antoninus being too juſt to ſtifle the Miracle, wrote to the *Senate* in favour of the Chriſtians, and order'd thoſe ſhould be puniſh'd with Death that inform'd againſt them; a very clear Argument that he believ'd the late Deliverance was all of it owing to their Prayers. *Tertullian* [w] and ſeveral other *Writers*, about the ſame time mention this *Letter*, and argue upon it; which they durſt not have done, had it not been well known, and unqueſtionably Authentick. For a Forgery of this kind would only have ſerv'd to enflame the *Perſecution*, and make their Cauſe ſo much the worſe. But the preſerving this Record would have been too great a Blow to the Heathen Religion. This Spirit of Falſhood and Impoſture, was no doubt the Occaſion that this noble Teſtimony for *Chriſtianity* was deſtroy'd. As to the *Letter* in *Juſtin Martyr*'s Works under this Name, 'tis an apparent Counterfeit; neither was there any true Copy extant a great while before the Time of *Euſebius*.

Thoſe [x] Authors are likewiſe miſtaken, who report this Legion of *Melitene*, was call'd the *Thundering Legion* upon the Score of the Miracle. For the *Thundering Legion* was rais'd by *Auguſtus*, and had that Name given it becauſe of the Figure of a Thunderbolt upon the Soldiers Shields.

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[w] Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. ad. Scap. c. 4. [x] Vid. Baron. ad Ann. Chriſt. 176. Scalig. in Euſeb. Chron.

And now the Army [y] proclaim'd *Antoninus* Emperour the ſeventh time: This Honour he accepted this bout, tho' 'twas not his Cuſtom to do ſo, till it had been firſt mov'd and voted by the *Senate*. The Empreſs *Fauſtina* alſo had the Title given her, of *Mother of the Militia* [z].

The very Night after this remarkable Day, the Emperour drew off from this dangerous Ground, and ſeizing a Poſt of Advantage, intrench'd his Men. And here allowing the Army ſome Days for Refreſhment, and having receiv'd certain Intelligence of the Motions and Countenance of the Enemy, he held a Council of War, in which 'twas reſolv'd to purſue them: This Deſign being executed, he found them encamp'd beyond a River, and their Camp fortify'd and flank'd with Villages on each ſide. His Troops paſſing the River in ſpight of the Reſiſtance of the Slings and Archers, attack'd the *Barbarians* briſkly, who after having ſtood the firſt Shock, and loſt their beſt Men, gave Way and retreated. And here the *Romans* made a horrible Slaughter of them, the Field was all ſtrew'd with Carcaſſes, and the greateſt Trouble the Emperour had, was to check the Heat and Fury of his Soldiers, who, as weary as they were, ſeem'd to refreſh themſelves by cutting the Throats of the Enemy. There was a great Number of Priſoners taken, and *Antoninus* had ſome of their Kings brought in Chains to him, with their Wives and Children.

After this Victory the Emperour march'd his Army to the River *Granua* [a], which parts the

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[y] Ann. Dom. 174. [z] *Mater Caſtrorum.* [a] From this Place the Emperour dates his firſt Book, and probably it lay in ſome Part of the leſſer *Tartary*.

Quadi from the *Jazygian Sarmatæ*, the moſt warlike Nation of all the *Barbarians:* Beyond this River there was another, and the *Sarmatæ* were encamp'd upon the Ground between them. The *Thundering Legion* being order'd to march firſt, made their Way over a Bridge of Boats, and planted their *Colours* upon the Bank of the ſecond River; and the *Sarmatians* that oppos'd them, were almoſt all either drown'd or kill'd: In the mean time the whole Army paſs'd, and *Antoninus*, after having firſt ſacrific'd, mark'd out his Camp between the two Rivers, and order'd the throwing up Retrenchments. The *Barbarians* being ſurpriz'd at his Succeſs, diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to him; but their Propoſals proving too ſhort, *Antoninus* bid them ſound a Charge, and drew out his Men againſt the Enemy. The *Thunder Legion* again paſs'd the River firſt in the Emperour's Sight, and attack'd the *Jazygian* Cavalry with ſo much Bravery, that they forced them to wheel off and ride for't. Upon this the *Romans* were Maſters of the Field and Forage, and brought off a great many Priſoners and Cattle: And all the neighbouring Inhabitants ſent their Submiſſions to *Antoninus*, and begg'd a Peace of him. He receiv'd all their *Hoſtages*, and having Intelligence, that the great Men of their Country were, according to Cuſtom, met in a ſolitary Place for Conſultation, he order'd his Troops to march, and mov'd with ſo much Speed and Conduct, that he ſurpriz'd the *Barbarians* before they had any Notice of his Approach. They were aſtoniſh'd at ſo unexpected a Sight, and being more amaz'd than frighted, threw themſelves at his Feet. The Emperour ſent them off into his Camp, and advanc'd with the beſt of his Forces to attack their Army, which was encamp'd between

tween a Fen cover'd with Reeds on one ſide, and a Foreſt on the other. The Fight was obſtinate enough, and the *Romans* Blood was ſo heated upon this Occaſion, that after they had broken the *Sarmatians*, kill'd a great many of them, and ſet all the Countrey on Fire, they went queſting with Flambeaux, to pick up the Enemy that were hid in Foreſts and Marſhes. And here *Antoninus*'s Behaviour was ſo remarkably noble, that 'tis more for his Honour than the Victory it ſelf: For he went in Perſon into the Woods, and amongſt the Reeds, to preſerve thoſe poor Wretches, encouraging them to truſt his Clemency, and ſurrender themſelves.

All theſe Advantages were not ſufficient to put an End to the War; there was ſtill wanting a more compleat Victory for a Finiſhing-ſtroke: But this was a hard Matter to come at, in Regard the *Barbarians* always fought with Reſerves, and would never venture their Fortune with their whole Force. *Antoninus* perceiving the beſt part of the Seaſon was over, ſpar'd no Pains to bring the Expedition to a Point; and therefore, without loſing Time in treating with Ambaſſadors, ſent to him from all Quarters, more for Amuſement than Submiſſion, he choſe rather to make up to the Place whither they had withdrawn their beſt Effects, and where their main Body lay encamp'd. This Enterprize was ſo much the more hazardous, becauſe the March was long, the Ways almoſt impracticable, his Troops perpetually harraſs'd by the *Barbarians*, inſomuch that they were forced to move very ſlowly, for fear of falling into an Ambuſcade, or fighting upon ill Ground, for want of knowing the Countrey. But theſe Difficulties at laſt were all luckily got over; and *Antoninus* came up to the Place where the *Sarma-*

tians lay encamp'd between the *Iſter*, which was frozen over, and a great Wood. And having concerted how to attack the Enemy in ſuch a Poſt of Advantage, he drew up his Army in *Battalia*; the *Barbarians* did the ſame: And thus the Charge being ſounded, the *Romans* threw their Darts, and pour'd in upon the Enemy, who receiv'd them with great Courage. The Fight was long and ſmart, and the *Romans* being almoſt aſham'd to find ſo much Reſiſtance, exerted themſelves with unuſual Bravery, and preſs'd the *Sarmatian* Cavalry ſo hard, that at laſt they were forced to give Way, and retreat to the *Iſter:* And here making a Stand upon the Ice, the Imperial Infantry came immediately up with them. And now the Fight was renew'd with greater Fury than before; for the Enemy perceiving the *Romans* not uſed to fight upon Ice, and ſcarcely able to keep their Feet, concluded they would not abide the Shock: Preſuming upon this Advantage, they immediately rallied, and charged them on all ſides. *Antoninus*'s Infantry were ſhaken a little at the firſt Onſet, and had been abſolutely loſt, had not the Soldiers reliev'd themſelves by a new Invention in the Uſe of their Shields: Theſe they threw upon the Ice, to ſtand firm with one Foot; and having thus recover'd themſelves, they made head againſt the Enemy, ſeiz'd their Bridles, catch'd hold of their Bucklers and Lances, and pull'd them ſo cloſe to them, that at laſt they were dragg'd off their Horſes: For theſe *Barbarians* having but ſlight Armour, were in no Condition to reſiſt the *Romans*, who were well arm'd *Cap-a-Pe*. In ſhort, of all this vaſt Number of *Sarmatians*, but a ſmall Party eſcap'd, by running off into the Foreſt, or into ſome Camp they had fortified. The Emperour not loſing Time in the Purſuit of thoſe

that

that fled, attack'd them in their Retrenchments, and carried his Point notwithſtanding a ſtout Reſiſtance of the Enemy, who look'd upon theſe Poſts as their laſt Refuge and Security, and defended them accordingly.

After this Victory, *Antoninus* puts his Army into Winter-Quarters, and retired to *Sirmium* [b] himſelf; that being the neareſt and moſt convenient Town for the Service of the War. During his Stay here, he heard the Impeachment of *Herodes* [c], proſecuted by *Demoſtratus* and *Praxagoras* in behalf of the *Athenians*; and likewiſe the Complaint *Herodes* preferr'd againſt theſe Commiſſioners. They charg'd *Herod* with an inſolent and tyrannical Management in his Poſt, and having had an intimate Correſpondence with *Verus*, they made broad Signs as if he had been privy to the pretended Conſpiracy of that Prince to poyſon *Antoninus*. On the other Hand, *Herodes* accus'd *Demoſtratus* and *Praxagoras* of an Attempt to raiſe the *Mob* upon him. Theſe Enemies of *Herod* were encourag'd under-hand by the *Quintilians*, who having the Government of *Greece*, had a great Intereſt, and were glad of any Occaſion, to revenge an Affront put upon them by *Herod:* For this Orator, having formerly mentioned the great Honour and Promotion the Emperour had beſtow'd upon them, cited a Verſe from the *Iliads*, and made a Jeſt upon their Country by Alluſion, they being originally of *Troas*, *This Homer's Jupiter*, ſays he, *is not to be*

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[b] *Sirmich* in *Hungary*. [c] This *Herodes* was the famous Rhetorician who had been Præceptor to *Marcus Antoninus* and *Verus*.

endur'd for loving the Trojans at this rate. This Jeſt did much more harm to him that ſpoke it, than to thoſe 'twas broke upon. For the Countenance of the [d] *Quintilians* was by no Means unſervicable to *Demoſtratus*, and *Praxagoras*, for

The [e] Emperour and the Empreſs admitted them ſeveral Times into the *Preſence*, heard them upon the Subject of their Commiſſion, and treated them with ſo much Diſtinction, that *Herod* took notice of it, not in the leaſt doubting, that *Antoninus* favour'd the *Athenians* in Complaiſance to *Fauſtina*, and at the Inſtance of one of his Daughters, who appear'd for them. Thus *Herod* being diſturbed with Jealouſy, and extreamly troubled for the loſs of two fine Slaves (whom he call'd his Daughters,) juſt kill'd with Lightning, being thus ruffled to a Degree of Rage and Impatience, away he hurries in the Morning to the Emperour, and behaving himſelf with a great deal of Paſſion, inſolently tells him, *Thus I am rewarded for my Trouble with* Verus, *whom you ſent for Inſtruction to my Houſe! Call you this Juſtice to ſacrifice me to the Humour of a Woman, and a little Girl?* At this the Captain of the Guards was juſt ſtepping forward, either to take him by the Collar, or cut his Throat; but was prevented by *Antoninus*, who without either changing Countenance, or ſhewing the leaſt Sign of Diſſatisfaction, turn'd to the *Athenians*, and told them, *Gentlemen, you may open your Cauſe and go on with it, notwithſtanding* Herod *is not at preſent in the Humour to hear you: Demoſtratus* harangu'd, and argued with ſo much Force, that he drew Tears from the

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[d] Philoſtr. in vit. Herod. [e] Philoſtr.

Emperour,

Emperour, who finding the manumis'd Slaves of *Herod* moſt in Fault, let his Diſpleaſure fall there, tho' according to his uſual Clemency, he did not go to the Rigour of the Caſe with them neither; the Father of the two young Women, that were kill'd with Lightning had his Puniſhment wholly remitted; for he was ſufficiently puniſh'd already, the Emperour ſaid, by the Loſs of his two Daughters.

Thoſe who report that *Herod* was baniſh'd to *Epirus*, ſeem to miſtake his reſiding a great while at *Oricum* in that Conntrey, for a Baniſhment, occaſion'd by a long Sickneſs he was ſeiz'd with, at his return from *Pannonia* [f]. For in earneſt which way can we reconcile this Exile with *Herod*'s Letter ſome little Time after to the Emperour, in which he takes the Freedom to expoſtulate, why his Majeſty did not do him the Honour of his uſual Correſpondence by writing? And tells him, that *he had formerly received three Couriers from him in a Day, and deſires to know whether that time was never to come again?* This Opinion is farther confuted by *Antoninus*'s Anſwer, in which he calls *Herod his Friend*, and after having juſt mention'd his Winter-Quarters, expreſs'd his Grief for the Death of his Empreſs, and given ſome Account of his own ill Health, he adds, *I wiſh with all my Heart that this may find you well, that you would not queſtion the Continuance of my Kindneſs, nor fancy I have done you any wrong by puniſhing ſome Malefactors, who were uſed more favourably than they deſerv'd: Pray don't let this Matter trouble you; and if I have diſoblig'd you any other Way, or given you the leaſt Uneaſineſs; I*

[f] Hungary.

would have you demand Satisfaction of me in Minerva's *Temple at* Athens, *at the* Initiating Mysteries; *for notwithstanding the Heat of the War, I am very desirous of being* Initiated *there, and would gladly have the Ceremony perform'd by your self.* A Prince does not use to write in this Manner to a banish'd Subject.

As soon as the Spring came on, *Antoninus* not being willing to give the *Barbarians* time to raise new Forces, took the *Field* to prevent them. And having pass'd the *Danube*, he fought the Enemy several times and routed them; insomuch that at last despairing to make Head against a General so remarkable for Courage, Conduct, and indefatigable Industry, they sent to beg a Peace, and offer him Hostages. So that now all his time was taken up in giving Audience to Ambassadors, and in receiving a great many Kings who came in Person to do their Homage. The King of the *Sarmatians*, whom we may imagine was no small Prince, restor'd him a hundred thousand *Roman* Prisoners, which he had taken, and gave him eight thousand of his Troops, the greatest Part of which were sent away against the *Britains*. And here the Emperour adjusted the *Articles* to the Temper of the People he had to deal with; and either rais'd or relax'd the Rigour of the Terms, according as he found the People more or less inclin'd to a Revolt: And now they were all dispos'd to comply with what was put upon them; insomuch that the Countrey of the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*, had all been made *Provinces* of the *Empire*, if the News of *Cassius*'s Rebellion had not happen'd, who was so hardy as to assume the imperial Style, and set up for himself in *Syria* at the same Time. This News was a Surprize upon the Emperour,

Emperour, and rais'd the Spirits of the *Barbarians*; who valuing their Liberties much above their Honour, took Advantage of the Juncture, and obliged [g] *Antoninus* to soften the *Articles* in a great Measure, and to make a New Treaty, much more in their Favour than that they had sworn. And this in all likelyhood is the Reason, why *Antoninus*, contrary to his Custom, omitted the recital of the Conditions of this Peace, in a Letter which he wrote to the Senate to acquaint them with his Proceedings.

The Design of seizing the Empire could never have been projected by a Person more likely to succeed than *Cassius*. For, to give him his due, he was qualified in all Points proper for his Purpose. The Victories won by him in *Armenia*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, had gain'd him the Esteem and Love of the Soldiers. To give some part of his Character; he was very stout in his Person, and firm to his Resolution, admirable at fatiguing, and no less a Libertine in his Pleasures when he thought them seasonable; prodigal of his own Fortune, and wild to make himself Master of another Bodies: His Qualities were govern'd by his Interest [h], and he was either good-natur'd, or severe, profane or religious, as Occasion serv'd. He had improv'd the natural Craftiness of his Temper by Practice, and Pains: He had an extraordinary Talent to guild his Character, and cover his Deformities, to conceal Vice, and counterfeit Virtue: He was the Man that restor'd the old Discipline in the Army, in the exacting of which he was so severe, that he call'd himself *Marius* the second, and would never be persuaded to pardon the least Fault [i].

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[g] Dio. [h] Volcat in Cassio. [i] Ibid.

To

To give some Instances of Rigour: He always executed his Soldiers immediately, who took any thing by Force from the Town where they kept Garrison. When he had the Command of the Army in *Germany*, some of the Auxiliaries happen'd to surprize a Detachment of three thousand *Sarmatians* by the *Danube*, very much in Disorder. Upon this Advantage they fell on, and cut them in Pieces: But *Cassius* instead of rewarding the Captains of these Companies, had every Man of them crucified; letting them know that they had no Liberty to fight without *Orders*. For how could they tell but that they might have fallen into an Ambush, and expos'd the Arms of the Empire to an Affront: Besides the Authority and Force of Discipline must be lost this way [k]. This Severity was look'd upon a most tyrannical Piece of Cruelty, and occasion'd a terrible Mutiny in the Camp. *Cassius* hearing a tumultuous Noise, steps out of his Tent unarm'd, and coming up to some of the most daring Mutineers, with a menacing Look, speaks sternly to them, *Soldiers*, says he, *you'd best murther your General, and add Villany to your Ungovernableness*. This bold Stroak frightened the Soldiers, who are most afraid where they are least fear'd, and disheartened the Enemies; who, concluding that an Army under such exact Discipline, where even a Victory out of Rule was punished, must needs be invincible, made it their Business to negotiate a Peace.

Farther, [l] *Cassius* was the first who order'd the Hands of Deserters to be chopp'd off, or their Hams cut, and forbid the Soldiers carrying any

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[k] Vid. Papyr. apud Liv. lib. 8. 34. [l] Volcat. in Cassio 5.

other

other Provision but Bacon, Bisket, and Vinegar. He muster'd his Men every Week, examin'd their Arms, and their Cloaths, and oblig'd them to be *Exercised*. For *'twas a Shame*, he said [m], *since Wrestlers and Fencers were always practising in their Faculty, that Soldiers should not be used to Training, who, when they are kept in constant Exercise, find it much more easy than otherwise:* He would not endure any thing of Luxury, or unnecessary Accommodation in the Camp: And when any Soldier was catch'd in a Fault of this kind, he would not suffer him to go into *Quarters* all the Winter: This Rigour in Discipline made *Antoninus* give him the Command of the Legions, which *Verus*'s Expedition had debauch'd in *Syria*; upon this Occasion the Emperour wrote the following Letter to one of the Governours of his *Provinces*.

I [n] *have given* Cassius *the Legions, which the Luxuries of* Syria *and* Daphne *have made good for nothing, and which* Cesonius Vectilianus *found perfectly emasculated, and almost drown'd in the hot Baths. I persuade my self you will like my Fancy, especially since you know* Cassius *to be a Commander of great Strictness, and that he comes up to the Discipline of the old* Cassii. *You remember the famous Verse in* Ennius, *who was no ill Poet.*

Go back for Discipline to former Times,
Old Customs are the Nations main Support.

All that I have to desire of you is, that the Army may not want Provisions, and if I understand Cassius, *I dare engage he'll give a good Account of it.*

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[m] Volcat. in Cassio 6. [n] Ibid. 5.

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The Anſwer wrote by this Governour to the Emperour, will give us a farther Light into the Character and Reputation of *Caſſius*; 'Tis this.

Your Majeſty has made an excellent Choice in diſpoſing the Legions of Syria *to* Caſſius; *for 'tis highly neceſſary that an Army debauch'd by the Luxuries of* Greece, *ſhould be put under a good ſevere General. In earneſt he'll quickly pull them out of their hot Baths, and perſuade them to fight without Noſegays, and Eſſences. The Proviſions for the Troops are ready: Indeed there's no Fear of Scarcity under a good Commander; for in ſuch a Caſe, both the Demands, and the Expence, are uſually very moderate.*

This [o] *Caſſius*, notwithſtanding the Strictneſs of his Government, was born in *Syria*, a Countrey not at all remarkable for Sobriety of Manners. He was the Son of that famous Rhetorician, *Heliodorus*, who by the Strength of his Elocution was made Secretary of *State* to *Adrian*, and afterwards Viceroy of *Egypt*.

Now tho' *Fortune* can't change the Circumſtances of Birth, yet it often puts Men upon Projects in *Genealogy*. *Caſſius* was no ſooner mounted in his Station, but he began to bethink himſelf of drawing a Deſcent from that old *Caſſius*, who was concern'd in a Plot againſt *Julius Cæſar*: For in Heraldry the ſame Name oftentimes makes two Thirds of a Proof. Having founded his Pedigree upon this Pretence, he endeavour'd to fortify his Claim by a Conformity of Manners. Like old *Caſſius*, he always had an Averſion to the very Name of an Emperour; and ventur'd to ſay, [p] *That there was nothing more intolerable to the State than this Title, which had this particular un-*

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o Dio. p Volcat. in Caſſio. 1.

fortunate

fortunate Circumstance in it, that he who went about to suppress it in another, was forc'd to take it upon himself. Like his pretended Ancestor he valued himself upon his Inclination to restore the old Liberty: And used to hint, [q] *That if the Gods would but countenance a good Cause, the* Cassii *would set up the* Common-wealth *as high as ever.* This Aversion heightened by a vast Ambition; and brought to an Expectation by some knavish Fortunetellers, who are seldom wanting in such Cases, had like to have broke out in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius.* *Cassius*, tho' then very young, had form'd a Conspiracy against him: But *Heliodorus*, a Person of great Prudence and Authority, stifled this Plot in the Birth, hoping Time would qualify his Son's Heat, and make him Wiser. *Cassius* during his Father's Life, kept within Compass, and seem'd reform'd by his Advice; but this Restraint, serv'd only to provoke Desire, which at last grew too strong to be manag'd. The Emperour *Verus*, when he went into *Syria*, was the first that discover'd his Design; and being glad of an Opportunity to destroy a Man, whose Exploits and Bravery had made him somewhat Jealous, he wrote to *Antoninus* as follows [r]:

Cassius, *as I am well inform'd, is making his Way to the Throne, and going upon the old Design discover'd in my Grandfather, your Father's Reign. I beg of you his Motions may be observ'd; nothing that we do can please him, and he is filling his Coffers at a mighty Rate: He makes a Jest of our Inclination for Letters, calls you, old Philosophy in Petticoats, and me a little Libertine. You see therefore what you*

[q] Volcat. in Cassio. [r] Ibid.

have to do: For my part, I have no Spleen against the Man; but I entreat your Majesty to take care for fear you and your Children should one Day be sensible of the Danger in continuing a General of his Temper, so much belov'd and so very absolute in the Army.

Antoninus imputing *Verus*'s Suspicion, either to his Jealousy or Disaffection to *Cassius*, return'd him this Answer.

I read your Letter, and find it too full of Diffidence and Apprehension for an Emperour, and not at all suitable to the Character of our Reign. If the Gods have decreed the Empire to Cassius, *'tis not in our Power to prevent it; you remember the saying of your Grandfather* Adrian, that no Man could kill his Successour [r]: *But if his grasping at the Sceptre is discountenanced by Heaven, he'll destroy himself without our Cruelty; besides, 'twill look very odly to try a Man without Evidence, and who, as you observe is so very much belov'd by the Soldiers. I may add, that in Cases of high Treason, the Prisoner is generally thought to be hardly used, when fairly convicted. I suppose you han't forgot what* Adrian *used to say upon this Occasion. That Princes were the most unfortunate of all People, for no body will believe there's any Truth in a Conspiracy, till they see it executed. 'Tis true, this fine Sentence belongs to* Domitian, *but I rather chuse to cite* Adrian, *because the sententious Sayings of Tyrants have not the same Weight and Authority, as those which are delivered by a good Prince. Let* Cassius *then take his Humour, for to give him his Due, he is a great General, brave in his Person, and one that we can by no means spare as Affairs stand. As to what*

[r] Volcat. in Cassio, 2.

you

you insinuate, that his Death is the only Security for my Children; I say, if Cassius's *Merits out-shine theirs, let them smart for't; for if 'tis more the Interest of the Empire that* Cassius *should live, than the Issue of* Antoninus, *I shall never be concern'd about their Death.*

It appear'd by the Event, that *Verus* had made a right Judgment of the Case, and penetrated the Designs of *Cassius* better than his Brother Emperour: But 'tis common for Honesty and good Meaning, to make too favourable Constructions upon other Men.

Antoninus [t] was so belov'd by the People, that *Cassius* found the working of his Project a difficult Business; and notwithstanding his Interest in *Egypt* and *Syria*, he could never have made any Progress in the Matter, had it not been for a Sham-Report of *Antoninus*'s Death. Some were of Opinion, that this News was rais'd by himself, and that [v] *Faustina* perceiving the Emperour broken by Age, Fatiguing, and ill Health, that his Son *Commodus* was too young to succeed him, and being afraid her Quality of Empress would not last, held a Correspondence with this Rebel; and by a strange Piece of Politicks, had awaken'd his Ambition, and made him the Offer of her Person and the Empire, which latter she hoped to secure for her Children by this Contrivance. But there's no likelyhood *Faustina* would take such wrong Measures; and indeed the Temper of *Cassius* is enough in all Conscience to justify her. But let this be as it will, 'tis certain he publish'd the News of the Emperour's being dead, and

[t] Volcat. in Cassio 7. Capitol. 24. [v] Volcat. ibid. Capitol. Dio.

that with all the Appearance of Grief and Mortification imaginable; adding withal, that the Army in *Pannonia* not believing *Commodus* old enough to govern, had proclaim'd him Emperour in his ſtead. This Pretence was ſufficient for *Caſſius* to ſet up with, who having given the chief Commands in the Army to his Friends, endeavour'd to ſecure himſelf againſt Oppoſition, and in a little time made himſelf Maſter of all the Countrey, from *Syria* to Mount *Taurus*; and at the ſame time he wrote a Letter, ſomewhat in the Form of a *Manifeſto*, to his Son [w], the Governour of *Alexandria*: It runs thus.

Nothing can be more unhappy than a Government which cheriſhes ſuch an inſatiable ſort of People as we are now peſter'd with. Antoninus *is really a very good Man, only he ſtrains too much for the Character of Clemency, and ſuffers thoſe Wretches to go on, whoſe Miſbehaviour he is fully convinced of. Where's the brave* Caſſius, *whoſe Name we have the Honour to carry, though without much Significancy at preſent? Where's* Cato *the Cenſor? What's become of the Diſcipline of our Anceſtors? Alas! It expired with thoſe great Men; and now we have ſcarcely the Manhood left ſo much as to think on't.* Antoninus *is perfectly ſubdued by Philoſophy: He ſpends his Time in reading upon the Elements, diſſecting the Soul, and making fine Diſcourſes upon Decency and Juſtice, but as for the Government, that's the leaſt of his Buſineſs. In ſhort, you ſee there's nothing but Steel and extreme Remedies can relieve us, and ſet the Commonwealth upon the old Foot. What! do you think I'll endure ſuch Governours of Provinces as theſe are? If I may call ſuch Fellows Governours and Proconſuls, who*

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[w] Or Son-in-Law, *Druncianus.*

fancy

fancy Antoninus *and the Senate, give them the Command of a whole Countrey, only to fill their Pockets, and supply their Debauchery. I suppose you have heard that our* Virtuoso's *Captain of the Guards, was but a mere Beggar just before his Preferment, and now all of a sudden his Fortune is swell'd to a vast Bulk: And which Way can his Coffers grow thus fast, unless by preying either upon the publick Revenues or private Property? Well! I'm not sorry for their thriving; let these Spunges suck as plentifully as they please, I hope to squeese them into the Exchequer shortly. Let but the Gods vouchsafe to countenance a good Cause, and the* Cassii *will not fail to set up the Commonwealth as high as ever.*

Martius Verus [x], Lieutenant-General, who, as I observ'd, had a great Share under *Cassius*, in the Action and Successes in *Armenia*, having now the Government of *Cappadocia*, dispatch'd away Courtiers to *Antoninus*, to inform him of the Revolt. The Emperour being afraid lest *Cassius* should, by some Means or other, seize upon *Commodus*, or get him murther'd, wrote privately to *Rome*, for the young Prince to be convey'd to him, and endeavour'd to conceal the News from his Army: But as soon as he understood it was divulg'd, that the Camp had taken the Alarm, and the Soldiers had Meetings about it; he order'd them to be drawn up before his Tent, and made a Speech to them as follows.

" *Fellow Soldiers*, My Business with you is nei-
" ther to shew my Dissatisfaction, nor make any
" Complaint; for why should we be displeas'd at
" the uncontrollable Power of Providence: 'Tis
" true, to complain when one's ill used, as I am, is

[x] Dio. Xiphil.

" natural enough. In earneſt, is it not a hard
" Fate to be perpetually embarraſs'd and em-
" broil'd, to ſtand always with ones Sword drawn,
" and be toſs'd from one Tempeſt to another?
" Is it not a deplorable Buſineſs to be thus dragg'd
" into a Civil War? But is it not ſtill a more la-
" mentable Conſideration, that there's no ſuch
" thing as Fidelity in Nature, and that one of
" thoſe Men whom I believ'd moſt firm to my
" Intereſt, ſhould take the Field againſt me, with-
" out the leaſt Injury or Provocation imaginable?
" At this rate, what have we to truſt to? Where
" can Innocence and Honeſty be ſecure? If I am
" thus ſerv'd, where is true Friendſhip and Sin-
" cerity to be met with? Has not good Faith
" taken its Leave, and what can we expect from
" Mankind after this? If the Danger pointed at
" none but my Perſon, I would give my ſelf little
" Trouble about it, (for I don't pretend to be
" immortal) but now ſince the Revolt is general,
" the Storm bears down upon us all. I heartily
" wiſh *Caſſius* would come hither, and refer his
" Pretenſions, and make you or the *Senate* judge
" of them: For if, after ſuch a Debate, 'twas
" thought ſerviceable to the *Publick*, I ſhould wil-
" lingly reſign to him without ſtriking a Stroke.
" 'Tis only for the ſake of the *State* that I have
" thus long harraſs'd and ventur'd my Perſon:
" 'Tis only upon this Account that I have, as it
" were, baniſh'd my ſelf, my native Countrey, and
" denied an old and infirm Body the Convenien-
" cies of *Italy*, and that I can very ſeldom enjoy
" one eaſy Minute, either to eat or ſleep in. But
" *Caſſius* will never conſent to this Propoſal: For
" how can he truſt himſelf with me, after his bar-
" barous Uſage and Breach of Faith? As for you,
" *Gentlemen*, you have great Reaſon to keep up
" your

" your Spirits; for the *Cilicians*, *Syrians*, *Egypti-*
" *ans*, and *Jews*, were never yet your Equals in
" Bravery, nor ever will be, tho' they exceeded
" your Numbers as much as now they fall short
" of them: Nay, even *Caſſius* himſelf, as good
" a General as he is, and after all the great Ex-
" ploits he has done, is a meer Cypher as Things
" ſtand. For what can an Eagle ſignify that has
" nothing but a Flock of Pigeons to muſter, or
" a Lion that heads no other Forces but Fallow-
" Deer? Beſides, 'tis you, not *Caſſius*, that beat
" the *Parthians* and *Arabians*; and granting he
" has gain'd a great deal of Honour in this War,
" have you not *Martius Verus* on your ſide, not
" at all his Inferiour, and who has contributed as
" much as the other to all our Succeſſes in the
" Field? But it may be, *Caſſius* hearing me alive,
" has now repented his Attempt; for 'twas only
" the Report of my Death, which has made him
" thus enterprizing. And ſuppoſing he ſhould
" be obſtinate at preſent, when he has once No-
" tice of our March againſt him, he'll ſcarce ever
" have the Reſolution to *face* us. He'll be con-
" founded between your *Force* and my *Preſence*,
" and Shame and Fear together will make him
" drop his Sword. *Fellow Soldiers*; the only thing
" I'm afraid of is, that *Caſſius*, not having the
" Confidence to look me in the Face, ſhould make
" himſelf away, or that ſome other Body, under-
" ſtanding I'm going to fight him, ſhould do me
" this ill Office, and ſo deprive me of the moſt
" glorious Advantage of my Victory. And what
" Advantage is this? 'Tis to pardon an Enemy;
" 'tis to be true to a falſe Man, and to continue
" his Friend, that has broken all the Laws of
" Friendſhip. This, 'tis likely, looks very im-
" practicable to you, but for all that I would not

" have you disbelieve it. For Goodness and Ge-
" nerosity have not so utterly forsaken the Earth,
" as not to leave us some Remains of the antient
" Virtue. But if this must be counted incredible,
" I have still the greater Desire to it; to con-
" vince you by Matter of Fact, of what you all
" thought impossible. And by this Means I
" should gain the Satisfaction, at least, of shew-
" ing the World, that the greatest Provocations
" may be over-look'd, and that 'tis possible to
" turn even a Civil War it self to some handsom
" Account.

This [y] Speech was sent in a Letter to the *Senate*, where *Cassius* was attainted of High-Treason, and his Estate forfeited to the *City Chamber*, for the Emperour would not have it brought into his *Exchequer*. In the mean time *Commodus* came to the Army, and had the *Tribunitian* Authority granted him by *Antoninus:* And now having provided every thing ready for the marching his Troops, the Emperour went into *Italy*, to take the Empress, and his other Children along with them; and being come as far as Mount *Alba*, he wrote this Letter to the Empress.

Verus [z] *was in the Right in the Advice he sent me of* Cassius's *Design to usurp the Empire. I suppose you may have heard what fine things the Fortune-tellers have promis'd him. Pray come forthwith to Mount* Alba, *and fear nothing; for here I wait for you, and hope by the Gods Assistance, to discourse with you farther about our Affairs.*

Faustina wrote him this Answer.

I intend according to your Orders to be at Mount Alba *to morrow; in the mean time, I beg of you, if*

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[y] Dio. Capitol. 24. Volcat. in Cassio. 7. [z] Volcat. in Cassio. 9.

you

you have any Love for your Children, to make an Example of all these Traitors: For these Rebellions are an ill President to the Officers, and Soldiers, who will infallibly do your Business, unless you prevent them.

Faustina being hindred by some Accident from going to Mount *Alba*, the Emperour wrote to her to come to *Formianum*, and embark with him there, but being detain'd at *Rome* by their eldest Daughters falling Sick, she sent him this Letter.

When Celsus's *Rebellion was on Foot, my Empress-Mother* Faustina, *desired our Father* Antoninus, *to be kind in the first Place to his own Blood, and Family, and then if he had any Mercy to spare, to let Strangers be the better for't: For indeed an Emperour can't be said to be good natur'd, unless he takes Care of his Wife and Children. I need not tell you of the Disadvantage of your Son* Commodus *his Minority, nor that your Son in Law* Pompeianus, *is both in Years, and a* [a] *Foreigner. Take care then how you manage your self with* Cassius *and his Adherents. Ne'er spare those Rebels, who you see don't spare you; neither would they have any greater Tenderness for me and my Children, if they should carry their Point. I intend to follow you immediately.* Fadilla's *falling ill has hindred me in my Journey to* Formianum, *but if I can't reach you there, I hope to do it at* Capua [b]; *the Air of that Town I expect will set me and my Children up again. I desire you would send me your Physician* Soteridas *to* Formianum; *for really I have no Faith in* Sositheus; *in my Opinion, he is but a sorry Doctor, to prescribe to*

[a] His Family was *Antiochian.* [b] Volcat. in Cassio. 10.

a [c] *Child.* Calphurnius *has deliver'd me all your Letters with the Seals whole; if my Journey is delay'd I'll write you an Answer, and send it by our trusty Servant* Cæcilius, *who shall inform you by Word of Mouth what* Cassius's *Wife and Children and Son in Law talk of you, and which I don't think convenient to commit to Paper.*

Cassius, who was a Man of too much Sense not to know there was no sleeping over *Treason*, push'd his Point, and endeavour'd to gain *Greece* to open his Passage the better into *Italy*. And here foreseeing the Interest and Elocution of *Herod* would be serviceable to his Purpose, he left no Stone unturn'd to prevail with him, and to refresh his old Disgust against *Antoninus*. But *Herod*, without listening in the least to his Propofals, or so much as reading his Letters all over, return'd him this short Answer, and indeed the only right one for a Rebel.

Cassius, *thou art out of thy Wits* [d].

Cassius was no luckier in other Places; he could not so much as shake the Allegiance of any considerable Town, nor decoy any body to his Party, excepting some beggarly Libertines, who were over Head and Ears in Debt, and [e] Debauchery. This ill Success began to make him lose his Credit amongst the Soldiers; and thus after three Months and six Days, from his first Revolt, this visionary Reign concluded, and the Usurper was kill'd by two of his Officers. His Head was brought to the Emperour at *Formianum*, as appears by his Answer to *Faustina*'s Letter which

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[c] Puellæ in Virgini. [d] Μανη Philostr. in vit. Herod.
[e] Dio. Volcat. in Cassio. 7.

she wrote after she had receiv'd the News of [f] *Cassius*'s Death.

'Tis impossible, my dear Faustina, *for any one to shew more Tenderness and Affection than you have done upon this Occasion, for me and the Children. I have read your Letter at* Formianum *over and over, in which you advise me to punish the* Cassian *Rebels. But for my Part, I am resolv'd to pardon* Cassius's *Wife and Children, and Son in Law; and am now going to write to the* Senate *to persuade them to moderate their Rigour, and not make too many Traitors, for there's nothing that recommends a Roman Emperour so much as his Clemency. 'Twas this Quality which made* Julius Cæsar *greater than his Victories, and gave him and* Augustus *their* [g] *Apotheosis; and procur'd our* [h] *Father the honourable Surname of* [i] PIUS: *Could this War have been ended as I would have had it, even* Cassius *should not have lost his Life. Ne'er disturb your self, for* the Gods who love my Clemency will be sure to protect [k] me. *I have nominated our Son in Law* Pompeianus, *Consul for the ensuing* [l] *Year.*

This Clemency was admired by some, and censured by others: One of this latter Sort took the Liberty to ask *Antoninus* what he thought *Cassius* would have done if he had gotten the Victory. The Emperour replied, *We have not serv'd the Gods so negligently, nor lived so ill, as to have had any manner of Fear of being conquer'd by* Cassius. Then he went on and instanc'd in those Princes who were either defeated by the Rebels in the Field, or

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[f] Volcat. in Cassio. 11. [g] Made them Gods. [h] *Antoninus Pius.* [i] Or Merciful. [k] The Emperour cites a Verse from *Horace.* [l] Capitol. 24. Volcat. in Cassio. 9.

privately murther'd by their Subjects, shewing that they miscarried either by their Cruelty, or their ill Conduct. *Nero* and *Caligula*, says he, *may thank themselves for their Misfortune*, Otho *and* Vitellius, *wanted Courage to govern, and* Galba *perfectly lost himself by his Avarice: He added that there was hardly one good Prince upon Record, who was thus serv'd; that* Augustus, Trajan, Adrian, *and* Antoninus Pius, *had always the upper hand of Rebels and Traitors, the greatest Part of which were executed either contrary to their Orders or before they knew on't.* 'Twere very well, if this Maxim would hold; but alas! Since this good Emperour's time, it is fail'd in a great many Cases. I shall now give the *Reader* his Letter to the *Senate* upon this Occasion.

My Lords,

You[m] *have voted my Son in Law* Pompeianus *Consul, as a Testimony of your Satisfaction for my Success: Indeed his Years deserv'd this Honour long since, had not Persons of extraordinary Merit appear'd against him; and where the State was so much indebted, 'twas but reasonable to discharge the Obligation. As to* Cassius's *Revolt, I intreat and conjure you to wave the usual Severity in such Cases, and not let me, or rather your selves, suffer in the Character of Clemency, by condemning any Person to Death. Let none of the Senate be punished, let no noble Blood be drawn: Recall the Banish'd, and let those under Forfeiture enjoy their Estates: And I heartily wish 'twas also in my Power to bring the Dead to Life again, and fetch them out of their Graves! For I don't*

[m] Volcat. in Cassio. 12.

love

love an Emperour ſhould take Revenge for himſelf: This Method, tho' never ſo defenſible, is generally interpreted as over-rigorous. For theſe Reaſons I conclude you will be willing that Caſſius's *Wife, Children and Son in Law ſhall have their Pardon. Their Pardon! Why ſhould I ſay that, ſince they have done nothing to need it! Let them live then undiſturbed, and be ſenſible they live under the Reign of* Marcus Antoninus. *Let their Eſtate, their Money, and their Furniture be reſtor'd; let them be rich, and eaſy, and go where they pleaſe, and wherever they move, let them carry the Marks of your Clemency, and mine about them.*

My Lords, 'Tis no great Inſtance of Goodneſs to pardon the Wives and Children of thoſe Attainted: I deſire you would do ſomething more for my Sake than this comes to; protect, I beſeech you, thoſe Senators and Gentlemen concern'd in the Plot, from Executions and Forfeitures, from Fear and Infamy, and from all Sorts of Injury, and Diſadvantage whatſoever; and let it be the peculiar Happineſs of my Adminiſtration, that no Rebel who loſt his Life in Skirmiſh, or Tumult, may be thought ill dealt with.

The [n] Reading of this Letter was receiv'd with great Acclamations, and all the Signs of Acknowledgment and Reſpect imaginable. In the mean time the Emperour order'd *Caſſius*'s Head to be buried, and generouſly ſhewed himſelf troubled for his Death; and then continued his March to put an End to the Rebellion; and bring the *Eaſtern* Army to their Duty. He began with *Egypt*, and pardon'd all thoſe Towns which revolted to *Caſſius*; and when he came to *Alexandria*, a very diſaffected Place, he left one of his Daughters there, as a Security, that he was Friends with them.

[n] Capitol. 25, 26.

Being

Being arriv'd at [o] *Peluſium* he ſaw the Solemnities of *Serapis* perform'd there; which being frequented by vaſt Numbers from all Parts of *Egypt*, occaſion'd a great deal of Debauchery and Extravagance: Therefore, without minding how the People would take it, who are generally diſconcerted at any Change in Religion; he put down theſe Holy Days, and order'd that the Sacrifices to this Idol ſhould be offer'd by the Prieſts in private, without any Concourſe of the Multitude. And all the Way of his *Progreſs*, he viſited the Temples, Schools, and ſuch frequented Places, inſtructing the People in a familiar condeſcenſive Manner [p]: And explaining ſome of the grand Difficulties in Philoſophy; inſomuch that where-ever he came, he was extreamly admir'd for his Senſe and Capacity.

The firſt thing he did in *Syria*, was to burn all the *Letters* found in *Caſſius*'s Cabinet, that he might not be forc'd almoſt to hate any Perſon whether he would or no. Some are of Opinion that [q] *Martius Verus*, whom the Emperour detach'd for *Syria*, and for his Loyalty gave him the Government of that Province; ſome ſay this *Martius Verus* burnt the Letters before, of his own Head, declaring that the Emperour would like it: But if he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to diſpleaſe his Majeſty, he ſhould ſuffer Death very willingly to ſave the Lives of ſo many People: Such an Inſtance of Goodneſs and Generoſity is rarely to be met with in a Heathen, or it may be in a Courtier either.

Towards the End of this Year *Antoninus* was proclaim'd Emperour the eighth time, as appears

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[o] Capitol. [p] Capitol. 26. [q] Dio.

by

by the *Medals* where the Inſcription *Imp.* VIII. is join'd with the XIX. Year of his *Tribunitian Authority*.

Fauſtina [r] died in this Progreſs at the Foot of Mount *Taurus*: *Antoninus* was very ſenſibly afflicted at her Death; and the *Senate* imagining the Empreſs might have ſowr'd his Temper againſt thoſe concern'd in the Revolt, and that the beſt Way to condole with him was to ſacrifice ſome of his Enemies, thus they fell into a new Fit of Puniſhing, out of Flattery, and over Complaiſance; Vices which oftentimes creep into thoſe *Great Bodies* no leſs than into the Breaſts of private People [s]. But the Emperour being inform'd how the *Senate* ſtood affected, ſent them a ſecond Letter, to let them know that their Severity would only make his Trouble for the Loſs of the Empreſs the greater, deſir'd that no Body might be put to Death, and concluded with theſe Words, *If I can't prevail with you to ſpare the Lives of the Revolters, you'll force me to wiſh I were dead my ſelf.*

But [t] to prevent ſuch Rebellions as this from coming over again, he made a Law that for the future, the Government of a Province ſhould be given to no Man that was born in it.

As [v] concerning *Caſſius*'s Children, none of them loſt their Lives but the eldeſt *Mecianus*, who being Governour of *Alexandria*, was kill'd there by ſome of his own Party, the ſame Day that his Father was diſpatch'd in *Syria*. *Heliodorus*, another of his Sons, was tranſported [w] and forfeited his Quality and Eſtate: The reſt were only baniſh'd

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[r] Capitol. 26. Dio. [s] Dio. [t] Ibid. [v] Volcat. in Caſſio. 7. [w] Deportatus Capitol. 26. Volcat. 9.

at

at large, and had their *Fortune* allow'd them. His Daughter *Alexandra*, and her Husband *Druncianus*, had the Liberty either to live at *Rome*, or go whither they pleas'd. *Antoninus* took Care to secure them in the Privileges of their Condition, and had such a Regard for them upon all Occasions; that once when they had a Cause of great Concern tried before the *Senate*, he forbad the other *side* to reproach them with the Misfortunes of their Family, and fined several who had given themselves too much Liberty in this Point.

In the mean Time the *Senate*, who perceiv'd they could not make their Court to their Prince by their Rigour, endeavour'd to do it by inventing some new Honours to the Memory of *Faustina*[x]. It seems the building her a Temple was not enough for them. They erected her a golden Statue, and pass'd an Order that every Time the Emperour went to the Play-house, this Figure should be placed in the Empresses *Box*, and that the Ladies of the first Quality should be seated round it. But they refin'd still farther upon the old Model of Flattery, and voted *Antoninus* and *Faustina* two Silver Statues, placed them in *Venus*'s Temple, and set up an Altar for them, upon which all the young Women and their Bridegrooms were ordered to sacrifice on their Wedding-Day.

Antoninus[y] gave the *Senate* Thanks for their Respect to him and the Empress, and being resolved to do something for her himself, he founded a Society of single Women, whom he call'd *Faustinians*, and maintain'd them at his own Charge, and built a Temple for his Empress at the Village

[x] Dio. [y] Capitol. 26.

where

where she died: This Temple was afterwards provided with a suitable Deity, it being consecrated to *Heliogabalus*, one of the greatest Monsters in Lewdness that was ever heard of.

After *Antoninus* had thus settled the *East*, he made his Way towards *Rome*. In his Return he staid some Time at *Smyrna*; and as every Body almost were crowding to pay their Duty, or get a Sight of him, he remembred one Evening he had not seen *Aristides*, and was afraid that Orator might take it for a Neglect: For 'twas one of the Emperour's chief Maxims, to pay a distinguishing Regard to Men of Probity and Character, and to treat every Body according to their Merit. He acquainted his Courtiers with his being uneasy about this Matter, particularly the *Quintilians*, who had the Government of *Greece*: They assur'd him, *Aristides* had not been there [z]; for if he had, they would have disengag'd him from the Crowd, and presented him to his Majesty: And the next Day they were as good as their Word, and brought him. As soon as *Antoninus* saw him, he ask'd him, *How comes it to pass*, Aristides, *that you make your Visit so late? Sir*, says Aristides, *I was busy about a Point, and you know as well as any Person living, that when a Man is warm in his Study, he can't endure to be interrupted.* The Emperour being extremely pleas'd to see Nature thus open and undisguis'd, asks him, *And when may we hear a Discourse from you then?* Aristides with the same Assurance replies, *If you please to give me a Subject to Day, you shall hear to Morrow what I can say on't; for I am none of those extemporary People that venture to let fly what comes first*

[z] Philostrat. in Aristid.

at their Tongues end; no, I love to work up my Things strong: But then, Sir, says he, *I beg Leave that all my Friends may make Part of the Audience. With all my Heart,* says the Emperour. *But, Sir,* replies Aristides, *I have another Condition to throw in, 'tis that my Friends may be allow'd to Clap, and make as much Noise in my Commendation, as if your Majesty was not there. That,* says the Emperour, with a Smile, *shall be perfectly at your Management.* The next Day [a] *Aristides* made a Panegyrical Harangue upon *Smyrna*, and came off with great Reputation: The Oration is extant among his Works.

From *Smyrna* the Emperour travel'd to *Athens*, where he had his Wish, of being initiated in the grand Mysteries of *Ceres*, the most sacred and solemn Part of the Heathen Religion [b]: Nothing could pass Muster here but great Innocence of Life, and a Reputation without the least Blemish in't. Those who were admitted were first examin'd in their Moral Qualifications, by a Priest appointed for that Purpose.

He [c] was very kind to the *Athenians*, and did their Town abundance of Honour; he left them Professors in all Sciences, with great Salaries to support them; made them noble Presents, and gave them a great deal of *Privilege* and *Franchise*. In his Voyage home, he met with a terrible Storm, which had like to cast him away [d]. Upon his Arrival at *Brindisi*, he put off his Soldiers Habit, and made his Troops do the same, who, during his whole Reign, were never suffer'd to wear *Buff* in *Italy*.

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[a] Aristid. Tom. 1. Orat. 15. [b] Capitol. 27. [c] Dio. Philostr. in vit. Adriani. [d] Capitol. 27.

He

He was receiv'd at *Rome* with all the Demonſtrations of Joy imaginable [e]. And here, at his firſt coming, having been eight Years abſent, he gave all the People eight Pieces of Gold [f] a Man, forgave them all the Money they ow'd, either to the *City*, *Chamber*, or his own *Exchequer*, from ſixty Years upward, burnt all the Bonds and Evidences of the Debt in the great *Square* or *Forum*, gave his Son *Commodus* his *Mans Habit*, dubb'd him *Prince of the Youth* [g], made him his Partner in the Empire, triumph'd with him, and nam'd him Conſul for the next Year, and to honour his Conſulſhip the more, follow'd his triumphal Chariot in the *Circus* on Foot. After this, he retir'd to his Philoſophy for ſome Time at *Lavinium:* This Study he uſed to call his *Mother*, and the *Court* his *Step-Mother*. And this Saying of *Plato* was frequently mention'd by him, *That the Way to have a Nation happy, was either to make their Philoſophers Kings, or their Kings Philoſophers.* Notwithſtanding, being well ſatisfied that a conquering People in the Time of Peace are apt to be fond of *publick Shews*, and that in Prudence it may not be amiſs to gratify them with ſuch Amuſements, both to refreſh their Spirits, and keep them from racking their Brains with ſeditious Projects, for theſe Reaſons he entertain'd them with very magnificent *Spectacles*, though he had no manner of Reliſh for the Diverſion himſelf.

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[e] Dio. An. Dom. 176. [f] The *Roman Aureus* at that Time was worth about Ten Shillings *Sterling*. [g] The *Princeps Juventutis* commanded the Boys of Quality in the *Ludus Trojæ*, and was generally the Emperour's Son, or near Relation, and by this Title deſign'd to ſucceed him. Philoſtr. in Ariſtid. Dio. Ariſtid. Tom. Orat. 20, 21.

While *Rome* enjoy'd the Advantage of Peace, and the Satisfaction of having the Emperour at home, *Smyrna* was miserably handled by Fire and Earthquake, the greatest Part of the Inhabitants being buried under the *Ruines*. *Aristides* wrote so moving a Letter upon the Subject of this Misfortune to the Emperour, that he could not forbear weeping as he read it: In short, it made such an Impression upon him, that he issued out Commissions immediately, for the raising a sufficient Fund for rebuilding the City, ordering a Nobleman to take Care of the Business, insomuch that the Accident was in a Manner retriev'd, and the Town had no Reason to regret the Loss of her former Magnificence. The Townsmen being full of Acknowledgment for *Aristides*, erected him a Statue of Brass in the Middle of the Market-place: An extraordinary Thing this, and of it self enough to shew the Happiness of the Times, when the Honour chiefly due to the *Prince*'s Liberality, was all of it given away to the *Orator*'s Rhetorick. *Antoninus* took this Opportunity to reward the Citizens of *Smyrna* for their Loyalty, and the Service they had done him. For at the breaking out of the *Parthian* War, when *Atidius Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria*, was wounded and forced to retreat, the Army being quite routed, and the Baggage lost, *Smyrna* receiv'd the Soldiers with all the Humanity imaginable, buried *Cornelianus*, who died of his Wounds; and all the People striving, as it were, who should treat the Soldiers best, gave them Cloaths, Arms, and Money, as *Venusium* had done to those who escap'd from the Battle of *Cannæ*. The same Assistance which the Emperour gave upon this Occasion to *Smyrna*, he had already bestow'd in *Italy*, and upon other Towns

Towns elſewhere, which fell under the ſame Fate, as *Carthage*, *Epheſus*, and *Nicomedia*.

The [h] Emperour's Expence in furniſhing out *Shews*, the Largeſſes he beſtow'd upon the People, the vaſt Sums he was out in rebuilding Towns ruined by Fire and Earthquakes, and the *Cuſtoms* and *Impoſitions* which he forgave the Subject when his Neceſſities were moſt preſſing, are Arguments ſufficient to confute any Objection againſt his Liberality. 'Tis granted, he was a good Huſband, and, like his Father *Antoninus Pius* [i], manag'd his Revenues with Frugality enough; but when the Eaſe of People, or the Honour of the Empire requir'd it, he open'd his Hand even to Prodigality: Being convinced that theſe are the only proper Occaſions for a Prince to be free of his *Exchequer*, and that *Avarice* in ſuch Caſes is a very dangerous Quality. Nay, he uſed to ſay, that when the People ſaw the Prince liberal to the *Publick*, and thrifty in his private Expence [k], they paid their Taxes more willingly, looking upon his Wealth in a manner as their own, and as a ſort of Fund for the general Happineſs. The little Juſtice done to *Antoninus* upon this Head, is not at all ſurprizing: The Bounties of Princes which have leaſt Diſcretion, are commonly moſt taking with the People; whereas Prudence and Reaſon goes for Covetouſneſs with them: For they never diſtinguiſh between giving and ſquandering, and make their own craving Temper the Standard of Liberality. But after all, 'tis certain *Rome* never had a Prince more beneficent than *Antoninus*, who was alſo the firſt that built a Temple to the Goddeſs preſiding over *Good Turns* [l], and which, it may be,

[h] Capitol. 23. [i] Dio. [k] Capitol. 23. Dio. [l] Ibid.

was at that Time of Day, the only Virtue unworship'd by the *Romans*. Indeed *Antoninus* was the fitteſt Perſon living to introduce this new Devotion, conſidering he underſtood the Book-part of *Obliging* ſo well, and was ſo remarkable in the Practice of it. Towards the End of this Year we underſtand by the *Medals*, that he was proclaim'd Emperour the ninth Time; it being likewiſe the one and thirtieth Year of his *Tribunitian Authority*.

Fabia above-mention'd who had been *Verus*'s Wench, tho' ſhe was his Siſter, and whoſe Ambition was little leſs than her Impudence; this Lady being willing to make the moſt of her tarniſhing Beauty, left no Trick untried to perſuade *Antoninus* to marry her. The Emperour underſtanding her better than he had done *Fauſtina*, and beſides having no Inclination to marry, always put her off. 'Tis ſaid he took a Miſs or Concubine, to prevent the Inconvenience of a Mother in Law to his Children. Now tho' the Conſequence from *Writing*, to *Life*, won't hold without Exception, becauſe Mens Diſcourſe and Practice are not always of a Piece, yet ſince *Antoninus*'s Life was ſo exactly ſuitable to his Philoſophy, we may very well queſtion the Truth of this Paſſage; And indeed the Falſhood of it appears plainly by his giving the Gods Thanks in his firſt *Book* [m] *for being but a little while, in his Childhood, under the Management of his Grandfather's Wench.* Now 'tis highly improbable he ſhould bring his own Children within the Danger of ſuch an Example, from which he reckons it a Bleſſing to have been quickly deliver'd himſelf.

[m] Sect. 17.

The

The Peace, the *Romans* [n] were so happy in, lasted scarcely two Years. The *Scythians*, and northern People took the Field again, and attacked the Emperour's Vice-Roys, who were in no Condition to make any great Resistance. This oblig'd *Antoninus* to prepare for another Expedition: Going therefore to the *Senate* he mention'd a *Supply*, which was the first Time he had demanded any new Tax.

This Money, had he been willing to use his Authority, might have been rais'd by the Strength of *Prerogative*; but this was none of his Method: He was so Condescensive as to say the Emperours had no Property of their own; and that the very Palace they liv'd in, belong'd to the Lords and Commons.

About this Time he married his Son to *Crispina*, Daughter to *Brutus Valens*, who had been Consul; the Wedding was kept like that of a private Person, without any thing of Royal Grandeur, or Expence in't.

After this he went to *Bellona*'s [o] Temple, and perform'd the Ceremony of the *Dart:* This Custom was very Antient, and only practis'd upon a War beyond Sea; and against some very remote Countrey. The Emperour coming into the Temple took up the *Bloody Lance* which was kept there, and threw it over an opposite Column, in the *Circus Flaminius*, which pointed toward the Enemy's Quarters.

The *Romans* [p] perceiving their Emperour, broken with Age and Fatiguing, ready to set forward, and expose his Person to all the Hazards of a new War, and being afraid they might lose this

[n] Dio. [o] The Goddess of War. [p] An. Dom. 178.

brave Prince, and the Benefit of that admirable Prudence too, which was not likely to out-live him; having these Apprehensions they came in a Body to the Palace, to desire him not to leave them 'till he had given them some Rules for their Conduct; that in case the Gods should take him to themselves, they might have some Directions to steer by; and be enabled to hold on that Course of Virtue into which his Example had led them. *Antoninus* was so much affected with the Probity, and good Disposition of this Address, that he spent three whole Days in Moral Discourses, explaining the greatest Difficulties upon that Argument, and giving the People some short Maxims, to assist their Memory, and govern their Practice.

In the beginning of *August* he left the Town, taking *Commodus* along with him, and gave the Command of the Troops to *Paternus*. The *Scythians* lost the best Part of their Forces in the first Battle, which was fought with such Resolution, that it lasted a whole Day. And now *Antoninus* was proclaim'd Emperour by the Army the tenth Time.

'Twere to be wish'd we could give a particular Account of these last glorious Campaigns, but since there's no Historian extant to transmit the Detail, we must be contented to understand in general, that this War was no less troublesome than any of the former; that the King of *Scythia* beheaded several of his Officers upon a Suspicion of their holding Correspondence with the *Romans*; that *Antoninus* fought a great many Battles very obstinate and bloody, in which the Victory was always gain'd by the Force of his Conduct, and the extraordinary Bravery of his Person, that he was always at the Head of

his Troops in the hotteſt Service; that he built and garriſon'd ſeveral Forts to keep the Countrey in Awe; and that in the beginning of *March*, when he was going to open his third Campaign, he was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper at *Vienna* [q], which carried him off in a few Days.

'Tis ſaid his Phyſicians uſed him ill, and haſten'd his Death, to make their Court to *Commodus*: *Dion Caſſius* is poſitive in this Opinion, which if it be true, *Antoninus* had more Grounds for that common Saying than he was aware of: *How many Reaſons*, ſays he, *will People muſter up to be rid of us; thoſe who have had the greateſt Share in my Affection count my Life but a Grievance, and would be glad to ſee an End on't.* Neither [r] did he fail in the leaſt to practiſe his own Advice upon this Occaſion: 'Tis this [s]; *However this Thought muſt not go ſo deep as to ſower your Humour* [t]: *You muſt keep your Temper, wiſh the World well, and part friendly with every Body.* This Rule, I ſay, was exactly obſerv'd by the Emperour; for the ſame *Dion Caſſius* reports, that he took a great deal of Care to conceal the Cauſe of his Death, that he recommended his Son to the Army; and that when a *Tribune* [v] came to him for the *Word*, he bid him go to *the riſing Sun.*

But *Commodus* being very young, and having as yet given no Suſpicion of any ſuch unnatural Barbarity, makes this Relation look improbable; eſpecially when we conſider [w] *Herodian*'s Teſtimony, by which it appears plainly that *Commodus* did not fly out into Vice and Diſorder, till after

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[q] Some ſay at *Sirmich* in *Hungary*. Dio. [r] Book 10. Sect. 36. [s] Ibid. [t] Dio. [v] There were ſix of theſe Tribunes, or Colonels in every Legion. [w] Herod in Commod. 7.

his Father's Death. The *Odium* this young Prince, when he came to govern, drew upon himself by his Cruelty, was the Occasion no doubt that Fame reported him a Parricide; (that so no sort of Wickedness might escape him;) People being generally willing to believe all the Ill of Princes which their latter Actions shew them capable of doing.

To return. The Emperour's Sickness had such ill Symptoms, that his Recovery was quickly despair'd of. In this Extremity [y] which generally shocks the Fortitude of most Men, this Prince held up in his Spirit and Temper, and gave a noble Proof of the Force of his Notions and Philosophy. But notwithstanding his Submission to Providence reconciled him to Death, yet the generous Regard he had for his People, gave him many a melancholy Thought. This Anxiety encreas'd with his Disease, insomuch that the Day before he died, his Mind seem'd restless and uneasy. The Miscarriages of those Princes, who coming young to the Throne, were too weak to govern their Fortune, and make Head against their Vices and Flatterers, were perpetually in his Thoughts. The scandalous Reigns of *Nero* and *Domitian*, made him more solicitous: He was afraid his Son might make a false Step, and not keep his Feet where the Ground was so slippery; that his Education might be lost upon him, the Notions contriv'd into him miscarry, and all the Care of his Instructers prove insignificant; in short, he was afraid he should grow lewd and licentious, and prove a Tyrant to his People, instead of a Protection. On the other Hand, he saw his *Northern* Conquests but slenderly secur'd, that those People were enclin'd to a Revolt, that the

[y] Herodian. in Com. 3, 4.

Enemy

Enemy had their Swords in their Hand, and upon such a Juncture were the more to be fear'd, for their having been often defeated: He had therefore Reason to be apprehensive lest his Death might bring all these Nations to a Confederacy against the Empire, and that taking Advantage of his Son's Youth, and Want of Experience, they might make an Attempt to retrieve their Fortune, and wipe out their former Disgrace. Being somewhat perplex'd with these Thoughts, and floating between Hope and Fear, he order'd his Friends, and principal Officers to be brought in: When he saw them about the Bed, he bad *Commodus* stand before them, and then raising himself with some Difficulty to sit up, he spoke to them in this manner.

I'm [z] *not surpriz'd at your being troubled to see me in this Condition: Compassion from one Man to another, is very Natural; and those Objects which strike the Sight are always most Affecting: But I persuade my self your Concern upon this Occasion is somewhat more than ordinary: For the Regard I have always had for you, makes me reasonably expect a suitable Return. And now Opportunity presents fair for us both; for Me, that I may have the Satisfaction to be sensible my Esteem and Affection have not been misplaced; for you, to make your Acknowledgments, and shew you are not unmindful of what you have receiv'd.*

You see my Son here, who has been educated under you, just launching into his Youth: This part of Life, for a Prince especially, is like putting to Sea in a Storm; where without Ballast and good Pilots, he'll be in Danger of being over-set by his Passions, and split upon some Rock or other: And therefore since he

[z] Herodian. 4, 5. from the Original.

is going to lose his Father, I hope that Relation will be supplied, and multiplied in you: Pray take Care of him in this dangerous Station, and let him never want good Counsel: Put him in Mind, that all the Wealth in the World, is not sufficient to satisfy the Caprice and Luxury of a Tyrant. And that a Prince's Guards, tho' never so numerous, are but a slender Protection without the Love of the Subject: That those generally sit longest and most secure upon the Throne, who reign over the Affections of the People, and govern more by Goodness than Terror. For 'tis Inclination, and not Force, which keeps Loyalty firm, and makes Subjection go down easily. In such Cases People are Friends, not Flatterers, and never start from their Duty, unless provok'd by Injury, and Ill-usage. 'Tis true, 'tis a hard matter to reign and be Regular; and to set Bounds to your Will, when your Power is almost absolute. If you suggest such Things as these, and remind him of what he hears now, you'll both secure an excellent Emperour for your selves, and also oblige my Memory in the highest manner imaginable, this being your only Way to make it Immortal.

At this Sentence the Emperour grew Speechless, fainted, and fell back into the Bed; and dying the next Day, was much lamented by those of his own Time, and no less admir'd by Posterity. As soon as his Death was publish'd, the Army, and all *Italy* were mightily afflicted at the News. So general a Mourning in earnest was never seen. And never was *Rome* in a greater Consternation. All the Happiness and Glory of the Empire seem'd to expire with *Antoninus:* Their Grief express'd it self in all the Varieties of Affection and Regard. Some call'd him their Father, and others their Brother, some their brave General, some their good-natur'd Emperour,

rour, their prudent, exemplary, and every Way well qualified, and accompliſh'd Prince; and which is very extraordinary, among ſuch a Multitude of Commenders, there was not one Soul of them that over-ſhot his Character, or ſaid more of him than he deſerv'd. The *Senate* and Commons, made him a God, even before the Solemnity of his Funeral [a]. And as if it had been a ſmall Matter to erect him a Statue of Gold in the *Julian Chapel* [b], they branded all thoſe for a parcel of lewd ungodly Wretches, who according to their Circumſtances, had not either a Picture, or a Statue of *Antoninus* in their own Houſes.

Thus in the fifty ninth Year almoſt compleat, died the beſt and greateſt of all the *Roman* Emperours [c]: He reign'd nine Years with his Brother *Verus*, and ten by himſelf. 'Twas a great Happineſs for him he lived no longer: For by this Means he was unacquainted with the wretched Qualities of his Son *Commodus*, who, for all manner of Wickedneſs, was one of the greateſt Monſters in Hiſtory.

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[a] The Emperour's Apotheoſis did not commence till their Funeral was over. [b] Here the Senate met. [c] Ann. Dom. 180. Dio.

The

The EMPEROUR *Marcus Antoninus* HIS CONVERSATION, OR, DISCOURSES with himself [a].

BOOK I.

I. THE Example of my Grandfather *Verus* gave me the Advantage of a candid and diſpaſſionate Temper.

II. By the Recollection of my Father's [b] Character, I learn'd to be both Modeſt and Manly.

III. As for my Mother [c], ſhe taught me to have a Regard for Religion, to be generous and

[a] D'acier. [b] Annius Verus. [c] Domitia Calvilla.

open-handed, and not only to forbear doing any Body an ill Turn, but not so much as to endure the Thought on't. By her likewise I was bred to a plain unexpensive Way of Living, and very different from the common Luxury and Liberties of young People of my Quality.

IV. I am to thank my great Grandfather [d], for not running the Risque of a publick Education, for providing me good Masters at home, and making me sensible, that I ought to return them a large and honourable Acknowledgment.

V. From my Governour I learn'd not to overvalue the Diversions of the *Race-Ground* and *Amphitheatre*, nor to dote upon the Liveries and Distinctions of *Jockeys* and *Gladiators*. He taught me also to put my own Hand to Business upon Occasion, to endure Hardship and Fatigues, and to throw the Necessities of Nature into a little Compass. That I ought not to meddle with other Peoples Matters, nor be easy in giving Credit to *Informers*.

VI. *Diognetus* gave me the Hint not to keep Quails for the Pit [e], or bestow my Pains and Inclination upon Trifles: Not to be led away with the Impostures of Wizards and Figure-flingers, who pretend they can discharge Evil Spirits, and do strange Feats by the Strength of a Charm. This *Diognetus* help'd me to the Faculty of bearing Freedom and Plain-dealing in others; brought me to relish Philosophy, and apply my self to't; and procured me the Instruction of those celebrated Men, *Bacchius*, *Tandacides*, and *Marcianus*. He likewise put me upon improving my self, by writing Dialogues when I was a Boy; prevail'd

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[d] *Catilius Severus.* [e] Quail-fighting amongst the Antients, like Cock-fighting with us.

with

with me to prefer a Couch cover'd with Hides, to a Bed of State; and reconcil'd me to other reſembling Rigours of the *Stoick* Diſcipline.

VII. 'Twas *Ruſticus* [i] that firſt ſet me upon correcting my Humour, and bringing it to a better State; who prevented me from running into the Vanity of the *Sophiſts*, either by writing pretendedly upon Learning and Life, haranguing upon Moral Subjects, or making a fantaſtical Appearance, of being mightily taken up with Exerciſes, Diſcipline, and Buſineſs. This Philoſopher kept me from being ſmitten with the Charms of Rhetorick and Poetry, from affecting the *Character* of a Man of Pleaſantry, or the Dreſs and Mien of a Beau, or any Thing of this kind, which looks like Conceit and Affectation. He taught me to write Letters in a plain unornamented Style, like that dated from *Sinueſſa* to my Mother. By his Inſtructions I was perſuaded to be eaſily reconcil'd to thoſe who had miſbehav'd themſelves, and diſoblig'd me. And of the ſame Maſter I learn'd to read an Author carefully; not to take up with a ſuperficial View, or reſign to every noiſy Impertinent, but to look thro' the Argument, and go to the Bottom of the Matter. And to conclude with him, he procur'd me a Copy of *Epictetus*'s Works.

VIII. *Apollonius* [k] taught me to give my Mind its due Freedom, and diſengage it from Dependence upon Chance: And furniſh'd me with ſuch Precepts for Steadineſs and Ballaſt, as not to float in Uncertainties, or be at a Loſs about Deſign or Event; nor ſo much as to look towards any Thing uncountenanced by Reaſon and Truth: To main-

[i] A *Stoick* Philoſopher.

[k] Moſt probably a *Stoick* Philoſopher.

tain

tain an Equality of Temper under trying Circumſtances, ſuch as tedious Sickneſs, acute Pains, and Loſs of Children. To give him his Due, his Practice was a handſome Inſtance, that a Man may be Maſter of his own Behaviour, that he may be earneſt and eaſy, force and unbend his Humour as Occaſion requires. To go on with him: The Heavineſs and Impertinence of his Scholars could ſeldom throw him off the Hooks. And as for his Learning, and the peculiar Happineſs of his Manner in Teaching, he was ſo far from being ſmitten with himſelf upon this Score, that one might eaſily perceive, he thought it one of the leaſt Things which belong'd to him. This great Man let me into the true Secret of managing an Obligation, without either leſſening my ſelf, or being ungrateful to my Friend.

IX. The Philoſopher *Sextus* recommended good Humour to me, and to make Nature and Reaſon my Rule to live by. He alſo gave me to underſtand, that good Uſage and Authority were not inconſiſtent, but that a Family might be govern'd with the Tenderneſs and Concern of a Parent. By his Precedent I was inſtructed to appear with an unaffected Gravity, to ſtudy the Temper and Circumſtances of my Friends, in order to oblige them. To bear with the Ignorant and Unthinking; to be complaiſant and obliging to all People, even up to the Smoothneſs of Flattery; and yet at the ſame Time not to ſuffer in ones Quality, or grow a jot the cheaper for't. Converſing with this Philoſopher put me in a Way how to draw up a true, intelligible, and methodical Scheme for Life and Manners; and never ſo much as to ſhew the leaſt Sign of Anger, or any other diſturbing Thought: But to be perfectly calm and indifferent, yet not in the Latitude of letting my Fan-

ſy ſtand neuter, and be unconcern'd for the Advantage of others: However, he let me ſee in himſelf, that a Man might ſhew his Good-will ſignificantly enough, without Noiſe and Tranſport, and likewiſe be very knowing, on this ſide Vanity and Oſtentation.

X. *Alexander* the Grammarian taught me not to be ruggedly critical about *Words*, nor fall foul upon People for Improprieties of Phraſe or Pronunciation; but to ſet them right, by ſpeaking the Thing properly my ſelf, and that either by Way of Anſwer, Aſſent, or Enquiry; or by ſome ſuch other remote and gentlemanly Correction.

XI. *Fronto*, my Rhetorick Maſter, oblig'd me with the Knowledge of Men. For the Purpoſe; That Envy, Tricking, and Diſſimulation, are the Character and Conſequences of Tyranny; and that thoſe we call Top Quality, have commonly not much of *Nature* in them.

XII. *Alexander* the Platoniſt adviſed me, that without Neceſſity I ſhould never pretend not to be at Leiſure to aſſiſt a Friend; nor make Buſineſs an Excuſe to decline the Offices of Humanity.

XIII. I learn'd of *Catullus* [1], not to ſlight a Friend for making a Remonſtrance, tho' it ſhould happen to be unreaſonable, but rather to retrieve his Temper, and make him eaſy. That, like *Domitius* and *Athenodotus*, I ſhould never be backward to give an honourable Character of thoſe who had the Care of my Education: And that I ſhould always preſerve an hearty Affection for my Children, without any little Jealouſies of being ſupplanted or over-topp'd by them.

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[1] A *Stoick* Philoſopher.

XIV. I am indebted to *Severus*, for the due Regard I have for my Family and Relations, and for keeping this Inclination from growing too ſtrong for Juſtice and Truth. He likewiſe made me acquainted with the Character and Sentiments of thoſe celebrated Patriots and Philoſophers, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Thraſeas*, *Helvidius*, and *Dio*; and gave me the Idea of a Commonwealth, in which the general Intereſt was conſider'd, without Preference or Partiality in the Conſtitution; and alſo of a Monarchy, where the Liberty of the Subject was principally regarded. To mention ſome more of my Obligations to him: 'Twas of him I learn'd not to grow Wiſe by Starts, and broken Fanſies, but to be a conſtant Admirer of Philoſophy and Improvement: That a Man ought to be generous and obliging; hope the beſt of Matters, and never queſtion the Affection of his Friends: To be free in ſhewing a reaſonable Diſlike of another, and no leſs clear in his own Expectations and Deſires; and not to put his Friends to the Trouble of divining what he would be at.

XV. The Proficiency I made under [m] *Maximus* was to command my ſelf, and not to be overborn with any Impotency of Paſſion or Surpriſe. To be full of Spirits under Sickneſs and Misfortune. To appear with Modeſty, Obligingneſs, and Dignity of Behaviour. To turn off Buſineſs ſmoothly as it riſes, without Drudging and Complaint. By obſerving the Practice of this *Maximus* I came to underſtand, a Man might manage himſelf ſo as to ſatisfy the World, that there was nothing but Truth, Sincerity and fair Play, in his Words and Actions: Attain that Greatneſs of Mind, as not to admire or ſtart at any Thing.

[m] Another *Stoick* Philoſopher.

Neither

Neither to hurry an Enterprize, nor ſleep over it. never to be puzled, diſpirited, or lie grinning at a Diſguſt, or Diſappointment. His Way was to be neither paſſionate, nor over-ſuſpicious, forward to do a good Turn, and to forgive an ill One. In ſhort, he ſeem'd to be always in the Poſſeſſion of Virtue, and to have nothing which ſtood in Need of Correction: And which is very remarkable, no Body ever fanſied they were ſlighted by him; or had the Courage to think themſelves his *Betters*; and to conclude with him, another Part of his Philoſophy was, not to be taken with Raillery and Jeſting.

XVI. In my Father's [n] Converſation and Management I obſerv'd a ſmooth and inoffenſive Temper; with great Steadineſs in keeping cloſe to Meaſures judiciouſly taken: A Greatneſs proof againſt Vanity, and the Impreſſions of Pomp and Power. From him a Prince might learn to love Buſineſs and Action, and be conſtantly at it. To be willing to hear out any Propoſal relating to publick Advantage. To over-look no Bodies Merit, or Miſbehaviour. To underſtand the critical Seaſons, and Circumſtances for Rigour, or Remiſſneſs; when 'twas proper to take up, and when to ſlacken the Reigns of Government. To have no *He-Sweet-hearts*, and Boy-Favourites: Not to ſtand upon Points of State and Prerogative; but to leave his Nobility at perfect Liberty in their Viſits and Attendance: And when he was upon his Progreſs, no Man loſt his Favour for not being at Leiſure to follow the Court. To debate Matters nicely, and throughly at the Council-Board, and then to ſtand by what was reſolv'd on. To be conſtant to a Friend, with-

[n] The Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, who adopted our Author.

out

out Tiring, or Fondneſs. To be always ſatisfied and chearful: To reach forward into the Future, and manage accordingly. Not to neglect the leaſt Concerns, but all without Hurry, or being embarraſs'd. Farther; by obſerving his Methods and Adminiſtration, I had the Opportunity of learning how much it was the Part of a Prince to check the Exceſſes of Panegyrick and Flattery: To have his Magazines and Exchequer well furniſh'd: To be frugal in his Favours and Expences, without minding being lampoon'd for his Pains: Not to worſhip the Gods to Superſtition; not to court the Populace, either by Prodigality, or Compliment; but rather to be reſerv'd, vigilant, and well-poiz'd upon all Occaſions, keeping things in a ſteddy Decorum, without chopping and changing of Meaſures. To enjoy the Plenty and Magnificence of a ſovereign Fortune, without Pride or Epicuriſm; and yet if a Campaign or Countrey happen to prove croſs, not to be mortified at the Loſs of them: And to behave himſelf ſo, that no Man could charge him with Vanity, Flouriſh, and Pretendingneſs, with Buffooning, or being a Pedant; no, he was a Perſon modeſt, prudent, and well-weigh'd; ſcorn'd Flattery, and Fooling, and was throughly qualify'd both to govern himſelf, and others. In a Word, he had nothing of the *Sophiſt* in him: And as for thoſe that were *Philoſophers* in earneſt, he had a great Value for them, but without reproaching thoſe who were otherwiſe. To go on with him, he was condeſcenſive and familiar in Converſation; and pleaſant too, but not to Tireſomeneſs and Exceſs. His Dreſs was neither beauiſh, nor negligent. As for his Health, he was not anxious about it, like one fond of living, and yet managed his Conſtitution

with that Care as seldom to stand in need of the Assistances of Physick. Farther; he never envy'd and brow-beat those that were eminent in any Faculty, or Science; either Orators, Historians, or others°, but on the contrary, encourag'd them in their Way; and promoted their Reputation. He observ'd Decency and Custom in all his Actions, and yet did not seem to mind them: He was not fickle and fluttering in his Humour, but constant both to Place and Undertaking. And I have seen him after violent Fits of the Head-ach, return fresh, and vigorous to Business. He kept but few Things to himself, and those were Secrets of Government. He was very moderate and frugal in publick *Shews*, triumphal Arches, Liberalities, and such like; being one that did not so much regard the Popularity as the Reason of an Action: 'Twas none of his Custom to bath at unusual Hours, or to be overrun with the fancy of Building, to study eating and Luxury; to value the Curiosity of his Cloaths, or the Shape, and Person of his Servants. Indeed his Dress at his country Palaces was very ordinary and plain, where he would scarcely so much as put on a Cloak without making an Excuse for't. To take him altogether, there was nothing of Ruggedness, Immodesty, or Eagerness in his Temper. Neither did he ever seem to drudge and sweat at the Helm. Things were dispatch'd at Leisure, and without being felt, and yet the Administration was carried on with great Order, Force, and Uniformity. Upon the whole; part of *Socrates*'s Character is applicable to him; for

° This was then a considerable Commendation, for in the Reign of *Adrian*, an Excellency of almost any kind, was sometimes Capital to the Owner, *Cassius, Capitolinus*.

he was so much Master of himself, that he could either take or leave those Conveniencies of Life, with respect to which, most People are either uneasy without them, or intemperate with them. Now to hold on with Fortitude in one Condition, and Sobriety in the other, is an Argument of a great Soul, and an impregnable Virtue. And lastly, when his Friend *Maximus* was Sick, he gave me an Instance how I ought to behave my self upon the like Occasion.

XVII. I am to thank the Gods that my Grandfathers, Parents, Sister, Preceptors, Relations, Friends and Domesticks, were almost all of them Persons of Probity. And that I never happened to disoblige or misbehave my self towards any of them; notwithstanding if my Humour had been awakened, and push'd forward, I had been likely enough to have miscarried this Way: But by the Goodness of the Gods, I met with no Provocations to discover my Infirmities. 'Tis likewise their Providence, that my Childhood was no longer managed by my Grandfather's Mistress [p]; that my Youth was undebauch'd, and that I barr'd my Liberty for some Time in standing clear from Engagements with Women: That I was observant of the Emperour my Father, and bred under him: Who was the most proper Person living to put me out of Conceit with Pride, and to convince me that Authority may be supported without the Ceremony of Guards, without Richness, and Distinction of Habit, without Torches [q], Statues, or such other Marks of Royalty and State; and that a Prince may shrink

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[p] Concubine. [q] To have Torches or Fire, always carried before them was an Honour peculiar to the *Roman* Emperours and Empresses.

himself almost into the Figure of a private Gentleman; and yet act nevertheless, with all the Force and Majesty of his Character when the Government requires it. 'Tis the Favour of the Gods, that I happened to meet with a [r] Brother, whose Behaviour and Affection is such, as to contribute both to my Pleasure and Improvement: 'Tis also their Blessing that my Children were neither heavy in their Heads, nor mishapen in their Limbs: That I made no farther Advances in Rhetorick, Poetry, and such other Amusements, which possibly might have engag'd my Fancy too far, had I found my self a considerable Proficient: That without asking, I gave my *Governours* that Share of Honour, and that sort of Business, which they seem'd to desire; and did not put them off from Time to Time with Promises and Excuse. That I had the Happiness of being acquainted with those celebrated Philosophers, *Apollonius*, *Rusticus*, and *Maximus:* For having a clear Idea of the Rules of Practice, and the true Way of Living; and the Impression frequently refresh'd; so that considering the extraordinary Assistances and Directions of the Gods, 'tis impossible for me to miss the Road of Nature and right Reason, unless by refusing to be guided by the Dictates, and almost sensible Inspirations of Heaven. 'Tis the Favour of these superiour Beings, that my Constitution has held out so well, under a Life of Fatigue and Business: That I never had any infamous Correspondence with *Benedicta* or *Theodotus* [f]; And that after some Amours, and intemperate Sallies, I took

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[r] *Lucius Verus*, who was adopted by the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*. [f] The one most probably a famous *Wench*, and the other a Court *Catamite*.

up,

up, and recover'd: That when I fell out with *Rusticus*, as it frequently happen'd, I was not transported into any Act of Violence: That I had the Satisfaction of my Mother's Life and Company a considerable while, tho' she was very near dying when she was young. To give more Instances of their Bounty; 'tis they that kept me from standing in Need of any Man's Fortune: And that when I was willing to relieve the Necessities of others, I was never told that the *Exchequer*, or *Privy-Purse*, were out of Cash. And farther, 'tis from them that my Wife is so very obsequious, and affectionate, and so remote from the Fansy of Figure and Expence: That I had Choice of good *Governours* for my Children: That Remedies were prescrib'd me in a Dream, against Giddiness, and Spitting of Blood; as I remember it happen'd both at *Cajeta*, and [t] *Chrysa:* That when I had a Mind to look into Philosophy, I met neither with a Pedant, nor a Knave to instruct me: That I did not spend too much time in voluminous Reading, chopping Logick, or natural Philosophy: Now all these Points could never have been compass'd, and guarded, without a Protection from above, and the Gods presiding over Fate and Fortune.

This was written in the Country of the Quadi [v], *in my Expedition against them.*

BOOK II.

1. REmember to put your self in mind every Morning, that before Night 'twill be your Luck to meet with some inquisitive Imper-

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[t] A Town in *Troas. D' Acier.* [v] In High *Germany.*

tinent, with ſome ungrateful and abuſive Fellow; with ſome knaviſh, envious or unſociable Churl or other. Now all this Perverſneſs in them proceeds from their Ignorance of Good and Evil: And ſince it's fallen to my Share to underſtand the natural Beauty of a good Action, and the Deformity of an ill One; ſince I am ſatisfied the Perſon diſobliging is of Kin to me, and tho' we are not juſt of the ſame Fleſh and Blood, yet our Minds are nearly related, being both extracted from the Deity; ſince I am likewiſe convinc'd that no Man can do me a real Injury, becauſe no Man can force me to miſbehave my ſelf; For theſe Reaſons, I can't find in my Heart to hate, or be angry with one of my own Nature and Family. For we are all made for mutual Aſſiſtance, no leſs than the Parts of the Body are for the Service of the Whole; from whence it follows that Claſhing and Oppoſition is perfectly unnatural: Now ſuch an unfriendly Diſpoſition is imply'd in Reſentment and Averſion.

II. This Being of mine, all that's on't, conſiſts of Body, Breath, and that *Part which governs:* Now would you examine your whole Compoſition? Pray then let your Library alone, what need you puzzle your Thoughts, and over-graſp your ſelf? To come to the Enquiry: As for your *Carcaſs*, value it no more than if you were juſt expiring, and taking Leave on't. For what is it in compariſon? Nothing but a little paltry Blood and Bones; a Piece of Net-work, wrought up with a Company of Nerves, Veins, and Arteries twiſted together. In the next Place you are to examine what ſort of Thing your Breath is: Why, only a little Air ſuck'd into your Lungs, and pump'd out again. The third Part of your Compoſition is your Mind, which was made

made for Government and Authority. Now here make a Stand; consider you are an old Man; don't suffer this noble Part of you under Servitude any longer; let it not be overborn with selfish Passions; let it not quarrel Fate, be uneasy at the *Present*, or afraid of the *Future*.

III. *Providence* shines clearly through the Administration of the World: Even Chance it self is not without Steddiness and *Nature* at the bottom, being only an Effect of that Chain of Causes which are under a providential Regulation; indeed, all Things flow from this Fountain: Besides, there is Necessity and general Convenience, that Matters should lie as they do; and to speak out, the Interest of the whole World, of which you are a part, is concern'd in't. Now, that which is both the Product and Support of universal Nature, must by Consequence be serviceable to every Part of it: But the World subsists upon Alteration, and what it loses one Way, it gets another; for *Generation* and *Corruption* are no more than Terms of Reference and Respect. Let these Reflections satisfy you, and make them your Rule to live by: As for Books, never be over-eager about them; such a Fondness for reading will be apt to perplex your Mind, and make you die unpleas'd: Be sure therefore to resign willingly, and go off in good Humour, and heartily thank the Gods for what you have had.

IV. Remember how often you have postponed the minding your Interest, and slipp'd those Opportunities the Gods have given you. 'Tis now high Time to consider, what sort of World you are part of, and from what kind of Governour of it you are descended: That you have a set Period assign'd you to act in; and unless you improve it, to brighten and compose your Thoughts, 'twill

quickly run off with you, and be loſt beyond Recovery.

V. Take Care always to purſue the Buſineſs in Hand with Vigour and Application; remember your ſelf a Man, and a *Roman*; and let the Action be done with all the Dignity and Advantage of Circumſtance: Let unaffected Gravity, Humanity, Freedom, and Juſtice ſhine through it. And be ſure you entertain no Fancies, which may give check to theſe Qualities. This Taſk is very practicable, if you will but ſuppoſe every Thing you are upon your laſt; if your Appetites and Paſſions don't croſs upon your Reaſon; if you ſtand clear of Raſhneſs, and don't complain of your Deſtiny, and have nothing of Inſincerity and Self-love to infect you. You ſee what a few Points a Man has to gain, in order to a Happy and Godlike Way of Living; for he that comes thus far, performs all which the immortal Powers require of him.

VI. In earneſt, at this rate of Management thou uſeſt thy ſelf very coarſly [x]; neither haſt thou much Time left to do right to thy Honour: For Life hurries off apace; thine is almoſt up already, and yet inſtead of paying a due Regard to thy own Reaſon, thou haſt placed thy Happineſs in the Fanſies of other Men.

VII. Don't let Accidents diſturb, or outward Objects engroſs your Thoughts, but keep your Mind quiet and unengaged, that you may be at leiſure to learn ſomewhat that's good; and don't ramble from one Thing to another. There is likewiſe another dangerous ſort of Roving to be avoided: For ſome People are buſy, and yet do nothing; they fatigue and wear themſelves out,

[x] See Sect. 16.

and

and yet drive at no Point, nor propoſe any general End of Action or Deſign.

VIII. A Man can rarely miſcarry by being ignorant of anothers Thoughts, but he that does not attend to his own, is certainly unhappy.

IX. The Reflections following ought always to be at hand: To conſider well the Nature of the Univerſe, and my own, together with the Communication and Reference betwixt them; and in what Degree of Proportion and Quality I ſtand, with reſpect to the *Whole:* And that no Mortal can hinder me from acting and ſpeaking ſuitably to the Condition of my Being.

X. *Theophraſtus*, in comparing the Degrees of Faults, (as we commonly ſpeak) talks like a Philoſopher, where he affirms, that [y] thoſe Inſtances of Miſbehaviour which proceed from *Deſire*, are greater than thoſe of which *Anger* was the Occaſion. For a Man that is angry ſeems to quit his Hold unwillingly, to be teaz'd out of his Reaſon, and ſtart out of Rule before he is aware. But he that runs Riot out of Appetite and Pleaſure, is ſway'd by a Libertine Principle, and appears a more ſcandalous Offender. The Philoſopher therefore was certainly right in pronouncing upon the Difference of the Caſe. For the firſt looks like an injured Perſon, and is vext, and, as it were, forced into a Paſſion, whereas the other begins with Inclination, and commits the Fault with a Guſt.

XI. Manage all your Actions and Thoughts in ſuch a Manner, as if you were juſt going to ſtep into the Grave: And what great Matter is the Buſineſs of Dying? If the Gods are in Being, you

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y This is ſaid becauſe the *Stoicks* eſteem'd all Sins equal.

can

can ſuffer no Harm: And if they are not, or take no Care of us Mortals, why then I muſt tell you, that a World without either *Gods* or *Providence*, is not worth a Man's while to live in. But there's no need of this Suppoſition; the Being of the Gods, and their Concern in Human Affairs, is beyond Diſpute: And as an Inſtance of this, they have put it in his Power not to fall into any Calamity properly ſo called [z]. And if other Misfortunes (as we count them) had been really Evils, they would have provided againſt them too, and furniſh'd them with Capacity to avoid them. And here I would gladly know, how that which can't make the Man worſe, ſhould make his Life ſo? To ſpeak clearly, I can never be perſuaded, that the *Firſt Cauſe* can be charg'd with the Want of Power, Skill, or Inclination, to take Care of theſe Matters: Or, that Nature ſhould commit ſuch an Errour, as to ſuffer Things really Good and Evil, to happen promiſcuouſly to good and bad Men. Now, Living and Dying, Honour and Infamy, Pleaſure and Pain, Riches and Poverty, all theſe Things are the common Allotment of the Virtuous and Diſorderly: Why ſo? Becauſe they have nothing of intrinſick Creditableneſs or Scandal in their Nature; and therefore to ſpeak properly, are neither Good nor Bad.

XII. A Man's Reaſon will eaſily convince him, how quickly all corporeal Things moulder off, and vaniſh both in Appearance and Memory, and are neither ſo much as ſeen or talk'd of: The ſame Faculty will inform him of the Quality and Size of the Objects of Senſe, particularly thoſe which

[z] The Emperour means, that no Man is under a Neceſſity of committing an immoral Action.

charm

charm us with Pleasure, frighten us with Pain, or are most admir'd upon the Score of Reputation. A little thinking will shew a Man how insignificant, despicable, and paltry these Things are, and how soon they wither and go off: 'Twill shew one what sort of Bulk those People are of, upon whose Fansy and good Word the Being of Fame depends. Thus a Man may examine the Point of Dying, which if once abstracted from the Pomp and Terrour of the Idea, 'twill be found nothing more than a pure natural Action. Now he that dreads the Course of Nature is a Child: Besides, there's general Advantage in the Case [a]. Lastly, we should consider how nigh we are related to the Deity, and in what Part of our Being, and what becomes of that honourable Side, when the Composition is broken.

XIII. Nothing can be more unhappy than the Curiosity of that Man that ranges every where, and digs into the Earth for Discovery; that is wonderfully busy to force a Passage into other Peoples Thoughts, and dive into their Bosom; but does not consider that his own Mind is large enough for Enquiry and Entertainment: And that the Care and Improvement of himself will afford him sufficient Business. And how is all this to be done? Why, by being neither Passionate nor Heedless, nor yet displeas'd upon any Account either with the Gods or Men. For as for the Gods, their Administration ought to be revered, upon the Score of Excellency and Station. And as for Men, their Actions should be well taken for the sake of common Kindred: Besides, they are often to be pitied for their Ignorance of Good and Evil: Which Incapacity of

[a] See Sect. 3.

discerning

diſcerning between Moral Qualities, is a greater Misfortune than that of a blind Man, who can't diſtinguiſh between White and Black.

XIV. Suppoſe you were to live Three Thouſand, or if you pleaſe, Three Millions of Years, yet you are to remember, that no Man can loſe any other Life than that which he lives by, neither is he poſſeſs'd of any other than that which he loſes: From whence it follows, that the longeſt Life, as we commonly ſpeak, and the ſhorteſt, come all to the ſame Reckoning. The Proof lies thus: The *Preſent* is of the ſame Duration every where, and of the ſame Extent to all People; every Bodies Loſs therefore is of the ſame Bigneſs, and reaches no farther than to a *Point* of Time. For, to ſpeak ſtrictly, no Man is capable of loſing either the *Paſt* or the *Future*; for, how can any one be depriv'd of what he has not? So that, under this Conſideration, there are two Notions worth the laying up: One is, that a little while is enough to view the World in, for Things are repeated, and come over again apace. Nature treads in a Circle, and has much the ſame Face through the whole Courſe of Eternity: And therefore it ſignifies not a Farthing, whether a Man ſtands gazing here an Hundred, or an Hundred Thouſand Years; for all that he gets by it, is only to ſee the ſame Sights ſo much the oftner. The other Hint is, that when the longeſt and ſhorteſt lived Perſons come to die, their Loſs is equal: For, as I obſerve, the *Preſent* is their *All*, and they can ſuffer no farther.

XV. *Monimus*, the *Cynick* Philoſopher, uſed to ſay, that all Things were but meer Fanſy and Opinion; pretending there was no infallible Rule for the Teſt of Truth and Certainty. Now this rallying Expreſſion may undoubtedly prove ſerviceable,

viceable, provided one does not turn *Sceptick*, and carry it too far.

XVI. There are several Ways of Behaviour by which a Man may sink his Quality, use his Person very scurvily, and 'tis possible without being aware on't. And this in the *First* Place is more remarkably done by murmuring at any thing which happens. By doing thus he makes himself a sort of an Excrescence of the World, breaks off from the Constitution of Nature, and instead of a Limb becomes an Ulcer. Again, he falls under the same Misfortune who hates any Person, or Crosses upon him, with an Intention of Mischief; which is the Case of the Angry and Revengeful. Thirdly, a Man lessens and affronts himself, when he is overcome by Pleasure, or Pain: Fourthly, When he makes use of Art, Tricking, and Falshood, in Word or Action. Fifthly, When he does not know what he would be at in a Business, but runs on without Thought or Design; whereas even the least Undertaking ought to be aim'd at some End: Now the End of rational Beings is to be govern'd by the Laws of Nature and the Intereſt of the *Universe*; for these two, are both the oldest, and the best Rules, we can go by.

XVII. The Extent of human Life is but a Point; *Matter* is in a perpetual Flux: The Faculties of Sense, and Preception, are Weak, and Unpenetrating: The Body slenderly put together, and but a Remove from Putrefaction: The Soul a rambling sort of a Thing. Fortune and Futurity, are not to be gues'd at; and Fame does not always stand upon Desert, and Judgment. In a Word; that which belongs to the Body streams off like a River; and what the Soul has is but Dream and Bubble: Life, to take it right-

ly,

ly, is no other than a Campaign, or Course of Travels; and posthumous Fame has little more in't than Silence, and Obscurity [b]. What is it then that will stick by a Man and prove significant? Why, nothing but Wisdom, and Philosophy. Now the Functions of this Quality consist in keeping the Mind from Injury and Disgrace; superiour to Pleasure and Pain, free from Starts and Rambling, without any Varnish of Dissembling, and Knavery, and as to Happiness, Independent of the Motions of another. Farther, Philosophy brings the Mind to take Things as they fall, and acquiesce in the Distributions of Providence; in as much as all Events proceed from the same Cause with it self; and above all to have an easy Prospect of Death, as being nothing more than dissolving the Composition, and taking the Elements to Pieces. Now if the Elements themselves are never the worse for running off into one another; what if they should all unclasp, and change their Figure? Why should any Man be concern'd at the Consequence? All this is but Nature's Method; now Nature never does any Mischief.

Written at Carnantum, [c] *a Town of* Panonia, *or* Hungary.

BOOK III.

I. WE ought not only to remember, that Life is perpetually wearing off, and in a literal Consumption; but also to consider that if a Man's Line should happen to be

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[b] See Book 3. Sect. 10. Book 4. Sect. 35. [c] Suppos'd to be *Presburgh*.

longer

longer than ordinary, yet 'tis uncertain whether his Mind will keep Pace with his Years, and afford him Sense enough for Business, and Speculation, and to look into the Nature, Reasons, and References, of Things both human and divine, for if the Understanding falls off, and the Man begins to dote, what does he signify? 'Tis true the meer animal Life may go on, he may breath and nourish, and be furnish'd with Perception and Appetite; but to make any proper Use of himself; to work his Notions to any Clearness and Consistency; to state Duty and Circumstance, and practice to Decency and Exactness; to know whether it is Time for him to walk out of the World or not [d], as to all these noble Functions of Reason and Judgment, the Man is perfectly dead already. It concerns us therefore to push forward and make the most of our Matters, for Death is continually advancing; and besides that, our Understanding sometimes dies before us, and then the true Purposes and Significancy of Life are at an End.

II. 'Tis worth ones while to observe that the least Design and almost unbespoken Effects of Nature, are not without their Beauty: Thus, to use a Similitude, there are Cracks, and little Breaks on the Surface of a Loaf, which tho' never intended by the Baker, have a sort of Agreeableness in them; which invite the Appetite. Thus Figs when they are most ripe, open and gape: And Olives, when they fall of themselves and are near decaying, are particularly pretty to look at: To go on; the bending of an Ear of Corn, the Brow of a Lion, the Foam of a Boar, and many other Things, if you take

[d] The *Stoicks* allow'd Self-Murder.

them

them singly, are far enough from being handsome, but when they are look'd on as Parts of somewhat else, and consider'd with Reference, and Connexion, are both ornamental and affecting. Thus, if a Man has but Inclination and Thought enough to examine the *Product* of the Universe; he'll find the most unpromising Appearances not unaccountable; and that the more remote Appendages have somewhat to recommend them. One thus prepared will perceive the Beauty of Life, as well as that of Imitation; and be no less pleas'd to see a Tyger grin in the *Tower*, than in a *Painter*'s Shop. Such a one will find something agreeable in the Decays of Age, as well as in the Blossom of Youth: I grant many of these Things won't charm us at the first Blush: To pronounce rightly, a Man must be well affected in the Case, and throughly acquainted with the Methods and Harmony of Nature.

III. *Hippocrates*, who cured so many Diseases, was not able to recover himself: The *Chaldæans* who foretold other Peoples Death, at last met with their own. *Alexander*, *Pompey*, and *Julius Cæsar*, who had destroyed so many Towns, and cut off so many Thousands in the Field, were forc'd at last to march off themselves: *Heraclitus*, who argued so much about the World's being set on Fire, perish'd himself by a Counter-Element, and was drown'd in a Dropsy. *Democritus* was eaten up with [e] Lice, and *Socrates* was dispatched by another sort of Vermin [f]. And what are these Instances for? Why, to shew what we must all come to. Look you; you are got abroad, you have made your Voyage and

[e] In this Story about *Democritus*, the Emperour seems to be singular. [f] The Informers *Anytus* and *Melitus*.

your Port; debark then without any more ado; if you happen to land upon another World, there will be Gods enough to take Care of you: But if it be your Fortune to drop into nothing; why then your Virtue will be no more ſolicited with Pleaſure and Pain; then you'll have done drudging for your Carcaſs: Whereas as Matters go now, the beſt Moyety of you has ſometimes the worſt Office: For if I miſtake not, the one is all Soul, and Spirit, whereas the other is but Dirt, and Putrefaction.

IV. For the Future, don't ſpend your Thoughts upon other People, unleſs you are put upon it by common Intereſt. For the prying into foreign Buſineſs, that is muſing upon the Talk, Fanſies, and Contrivances of another, and gueſſing at the *what*, and *why* of his Actions; all this does but make a Man forget himſelf, and ramble from his own Reaſon. He ought therefore not to work his Mind to no purpoſe, nor throw a ſuperfluous Link into the Chain of Thought; and more eſpecially to ſtand clear of Curioſity and Malice in his Enquiry. And to come home, and make all ſure; let it be your way to think upon nothing but what you could freely diſcover, if the Queſtion was put to you: So that if your Soul was thus laid open, there would nothing appear but what was ſincere, good-natur'd, and publick Spirited; not ſo much as one libertine or luxurious Fanſy, nothing of Litigiouſneſs, Envy, or unreaſonable Suſpicion, or any thing elſe, which would not bear the Light, without bluſhing. A Man thus qualified, may be allowed the firſt Rank among Mortals; he is a ſort of Prieſt, and Miniſter of the Gods, and makes a right Uſe of the Deity within [s] him; by the Aſſiſt-

[s] So the Emperour calls the Soul or Reaſoning Faculty.

ance of which he is preserv'd uninfected with Pleasure, invulnerable against Pain; out of the Reach of Injury, and above the Malice of ill People. Thus he wrestles for the noblest Prize [h], stands firm on the most slippery Ground, and keeps his Feet against all his Passions; to go on with him, his Honesty is right Sterling, and touches as well as it looks; he always resigns to Providence, and meets his Fate with Pleasure: He never minds other Peoples Thoughts or Actions, unless publick Reason and general Good require it. No; he confines himself to his own Business, and contemplates upon his Post, and Station; and endeavours to do the first as it should be, and believe well of the latter: I say of the latter; for Fate is both inevitable, and convenient. He considers that all rational Beings are of Kin; and that general Kindness and Concern for the whole World is no more than a Piece of Humanity. That every ones good Opinion is not worth the gaining; but only of those who live up to the Dignity of their Nature. As for others, he knows their Way of Living, and their Company; their publick and their private Disorders; and why indeed should he value the Commendation of such People, who are so Vitious and Fantastical, as not to be able to please themselves?

V. Be not hated, selfish, unadvised, or Passionate in any Thing you do; don't affect Quaintness and Points of Wit: Neither talk, nor meddle more than is necessary. Take Care that your tutelar Genius [i] has a creditable Charge to preside over; that you appear in the Character of your Sex, and Age; act like a Roman Emperour, that loves his Countrey: And be always

[h] An Allusion to the Diversions and Wrestling in the *Circus*.
[i] The Mind, or Powers of Reason.

in a Readineſs to quit the Field [k], at the firſt *ſounding of the Retreat*. In the mean Time manage your Credit ſo, that you need neither ſwear your ſelf, nor want a Voucher. Let your Air be chearful; depend not upon foreign Supports, nor beg your Happineſs of another. And in a Word, never throw away your Legs to ſtand upon Crutches.

VI. If in the whole Compaſs of human Life, you find any thing preferable to Juſtice and Truth, to Temperance, and Fortitude; to a Mind ſelf-ſatisfied with its own rational Conduct, and entirely reſign'd to Fate: If, I ſay, you know any Thing better than this, never baulk your Fanſy, count it your ſupreme Happineſs, and make the moſt on't you can. But if there is nothing more valuable than that the *Genius* and Spirit within you [l] ſhould be abſolute in its Reaſon, Maſter of its Appetites, enquire nicely into the Quality of an Object. If there's nothing more to be wiſh'd than that, with *Socrates*, it ſhould ſtand off from the Impreſſions of Senſe; ſubmit to the Government of the Gods, and be helpful, and benevolent to mankind: If all Things are Trifles with reſpect to this, don't divide your Inclinations, miſplace your Thoughts, and weaken your Satisfaction, by any foriegn Purſuits: Rational Choice and benevolent Deſign ſhould never be check'd. But if you are for trying Tricks, and compounding the Matter; if Popularity and Power, if Wealth and Pleaſure once ſtrike your Fanſy, you're gone: Theſe new Favourites will govern your Motions, and ride you at Diſcretion. Let your Choice therefore run all one Way, and be bold, and reſolute

[k] To Die. [l] The Soul.

for that which is *Beſt*. Now Uſe and Significancy is the proper Teſt of this Quality: So that the Queſtion will be whether a Thing is ſerviceable to your rational Capacity; if ſo, cloſe with the Offer; but if 'tis no more than a ſenſual Advantage, hold your Hand; and that you may diſtinguiſh rightly, keep your Judgment unbyaſs'd, and don't let it ſtick in the outſide of Matters.

VII. Don't be fond of any Thing, or think that for your Intereſt, which makes you break your Word, quit your Modeſty, be of a Diſſembling, Suſpicious, or outragious Humour; which puts you upon hating any Perſon, and inclines you to any Practice, which won't bear the Light, and look the World in the Face. For he that values the Virtue of his Mind, and the Dignity of his Reaſon before all other Things, is eaſy and well fortified, and has nothing for a Tragedy to work on; he laments under no Misfortune, and wants neither Solitude nor Company; and which is ſtill more, he neither flies Death, nor purſues it; but is perfectly indifferent about the Length and Shortneſs of his Life. And if he was to expire this Moment, the Want of Warning would not ſurprize him; he'd ne'er ſtruggle for more Time, but go off with Decency and Honour. Indeed he is ſolicitous about nothing but his own Conduct, and for fear he ſhould fail in the Functions of Reaſon, Prudence, and Generoſity.

VIII. If you examine a Man that has been well diſciplined by Philoſophy; you'll find nothing that's unſound, foul, or falſe in him: Nothing that's ſervile, foppiſh, or fond; no ſelfiſh, no obnoxious, and abſconding Practices: To give him his due, his Buſineſs is always done; his Life may be ſhort, but never imperfect: So that

that no Body can say he goes off the Stage before the Play is quite Acted.

IX. The Happiness of your Life depends upon the Quality of your Thoughts, therefore guard accordingly: And take Care that you entertain no Notions unsuitable to Virtue and reasonable Nature; now in order to this, you must be wary in your Assent, obedient to the Gods, and benevolent to Mankind.

X. As for other Speculations, throw them all out of your Head, excepting those few Precepts above mention'd; remembring withal, that every Man's Life lies all within the *Present*; for the *Past* is spent, and done with, and the *Future* is uncertain: Now the *Present*, if strictly examin'd, is but a Point of Time. Well then! Life moves in a very narrow Compass; yes, and Men live in a poor Corner of the World too: And the most lasting Fame will stretch but to a sorry Extent. The Passage on't is uneven and craggy, and therefore it can't run far. The frequent Breaks of *Succession* drop it in the Conveyance: For alas! poor transitory Mortals, know little either of themselves, or of those who were long before them.

XI. To the foregoing Hints you may add this which follows. And that is to survey and define every Object and Thought extraordinary; and that with such Penetration, as to dissect it throughout, pull off its Mask and Fucus, and view it in its naked Essence: To call the Whole, and the Parts by their true Names; and be truly informed of their Force and Nature, both single, and in Composition. For nothing is so likely to raise the Mind to a Pitch of Greatness, as to bring Accidents, Persons, and Pretensions to a true Test. For Instance, To be ready to tell ones self, to what sort of purpose this thing serves, and what

ſort of World 'tis which makes uſe on't? What Proportion of Value it bears to the *Univerſe*, and what to Men in particular; to Men, I ſay, who are Citizens of that great [m] Capitol, in reſpect of which, all other Towns are no more than ſingle Families. To return: My Buſineſs is to examine nicely into the preſent Object; to know what 'tis made on, and how long 'twill laſt; what Virtue it requires of me, and gives Occaſion to; whether Fortitude or Truth, Good Nature or Good Faith, Simplicity, Frugality, and ſo forth: Upon every Impreſſion and Accident, a Man ſhould be ready to pronounce, This was ſent me by Heaven; this is a Conſequence of Deſtiny; this comes from Chance, over-ruled by Providence; and this other was done by one of the ſame Clan, [n] Family, and Corporation with my ſelf: 'Tis true, I don't like the Uſage, but the Man was a Stranger to the Relation he ſtood in, and knew no better. But I am under none of this Miſtake, and therefore I will be juſt and friendly to him, and treat him by the Laws of *Common Society*; for why ſhould any Man forfeit for his Ignorance, and loſe a natural Right? However, as to Things *indifferent* [o], I ſhall take Care to look into them too, and rate them according to their reſpective Value.

XII. If you will be govern'd by Reaſon, and manage what lies before you with Induſtry, Vigour, and Temper; if you won't run out after new Game, but keep your Mind ſtanch, and well diſciplined, as if this Trial of Behaviour was your laſt: And then, if you will but ſtick to your Meaſures, and be true to the beſt of your ſelf, and

[m] The World. [n] See Book 2. Sect. 1. [o] The *Stoicks* reckon'd all Things indifferent, excepting Honeſty and Virtue.

keep

keep your Fears and Desires from going farther: If living up to your Nature, minding an Opportunity, and standing boldly by the Truth; if these Things, I say, will satisfy you, you may be a happy Man: Now, if you are but willing, the World can't hinder you from doing all this.

XIII. As your Surgeons have their Instruments ready for sudden Occasions, so be you always furnish'd with Rules and Principles, to let you into the Knowledge and Extent of Things Humane and Divine; for these Two have their Reference and Connection with each other. The Consequence is, that your whole Practice ought to turn upon this Supposition: For without looking into the Nature and Administration of the Gods, you'll fail in your Behaviour towards Men; and thus the Reasoning holds backward, to the other side of the Argument.

XIV. Don't go too far in your Books, and overgrasp your self. Alas! you have no Time left to peruse your P Diary, to read over the *Greek* and *Roman* History, or so much as your own *Common-Place-Book*, which you collected to serve you when you were old: Come, don't flatter and deceive your self; look to the main Chance, to the End and Design of Reading, and mind Life more than Notion: I say, if you have a Kindness for your Person, drive at the Practice, and help your self, for that is in your own Power.

XV. Many People don't know the true Compass and Extent of Language: For Instance, they an't aware in how many Senses the Words, to *Steal*, to *Buy*, to *Sow*, to *be at Quiet*, may be taken, nor how much Meaning the Duties of Life carry in them. These Actions are commonly

P D'Acier.

either ſtraiten'd in the Notion, or miſapplied in the End. To ſay no more on't, he that would view this Matter rightly, muſt think a little, and look inward.

XVI. There are three Things which belong to a Man; the Body, the Soul, and the Mind: And as to the [q] Properties of the Diviſion, Senſation belongs to the Body, Appetite to the Soul, and Reaſon to the Mind. To have the Senſes affected, and be ſtamp'd with the Impreſſion of an Object, is common to Brutes and Cattle: To be hurried and convulſed with Paſſion, is the Quality of Beaſts of Prey, and Men of Pleaſure; of Libertines and [r] Tyrants; of Athieſts and Traytors; and of thoſe who don't care what they do, when no body ſees them: And ſince theſe Qualities are both coarſe and common, let's find out the Mark of a Man of Probity. His Diſtinction then lies, in keeping Reaſon at the Head of Practice, and being eaſy in his Condition: To live in a Crowd of Objects, without ſuffering either in his Senſe, his Virtue, or his Quiet: To have a good underſtanding at *home*, and be govern'd by that divine Principle *within* him: To be all Truth in his Words, and Juſtice in his Actions: And if the whole World ſhould diſbelieve his Integrity, diſpute his Character, and queſtion his Happineſs, he'd neither take it ill in the leaſt, nor alter his Meaſures; but purſue the *Ends* of Living, with all the Honeſty, Eaſe, and Reſignation imaginable.

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[q] The Emperour makes a Diſtinction between the Soul and the Mind, or Spirit. [r] The *Greek* mentions *Phalaris* and *Nero*.

BOOK IV.

I. WHen the Mind acts up to Nature, and is rightly disposʼd, she takes Things as they come, stands loose in her Fansy, and tacks about with her Circumstances: As for fixing the Condition of her Fortune, she is not at all solicitous about that. ʼTis true, she is not perfectly indifferent, she moves forward with a Preference in her Choice; but then ʼtis always with a Reserve of Acquiescence, and being easy in the Event: And if any thing comes cross, she falls to work upon't, and, like Fire, converts it into Fuel. For, as this Element, when ʼtis weak, is easily put out, but when once well kindled, it seises upon what lies next, subdues it into its own Nature, and encreases by Resistance.

II. Let every Action tend to some Point, and be perfect in its kind.

III. ʼTis the Custom of People, to go to unfrequented Places and Countrey Seats for Retirement; and this has been your Method formerly. But after all, this is but a vulgar Fansy; for ʼtis in your Power to *withdraw* into your self whenever you have a mind toʼt. Now ones own Breast is a Place the most free from Crowd and Noise in the World, if a Man's Retrospections are easy, his Thoughts entertaining, and his Mind well in Order. Your Way is therefore to make frequent Use of this Retirement, and *refresh* your Virtue in't. And to this End, be always provided with a few short uncontested Notions, to keep your Understanding true, and make you easy in your Business. For Instance, what is it that troubles you? Is it the Wickedness of the World, and the ill Usage you meet with? If this be your Case,

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out with your Antidote, and consider, that Mankind were made for mutual Advantage; that Forbearance is one Part of Justice, and that People misbehave themselves against their Will [f]. Consider likewise, how many Men have embroyl'd themselves, and spent their Days in Disputes and Animosities; and what did they get by it? Why, they had more Trouble, and it may be, less of Life than they would have had. Be quiet then, and don't disturb your self to no Purpose. But it may be the Government of the World does not please you: Take out t'other Notion, and argue thus. Either *Providence* or *Chance*, sits at the *Helm*; if the first, the Administration can't be question'd; if the latter, there's no mending on't: Besides, you may remember, that the *World* is, as it were, one great City and Corporation. But possibly the ill State of your Health afflicts you: Pray reflect, your Soul does not lie in your Lungs, nor your Reason in your Breath, so that if you are somewhat Asthmatick, or out of Order, 'tis no such great Matter: No, not if your Mind will retire, and take a View of her own Privilege and Power; and when she has done this, recollect her Philosophy about Pleasure and Pain; and to which she has formerly assented. Well! It may be the Concern of *Fame* sits hard upon you: If you are pinch'd here, consider how quickly all Things vanish, and are forgotten; what an immense Chaos there stands; what an Extent of Darkness and Confusion, on either side of Eternity [t]. Applause! Consider the Emptiness of the Sound, the precarious Tenure, the little Judgment

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[f] See Book 8. Sect. 14. where the Emperour gives his Reasons for this Paradox. [t] Of Eternity past, and Eternity to come.

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of thoſe that give it us, and the narrow Compaſs 'tis confin'd to: For the whole Globe is but a Point; and of this little, how little is inhabited? And where 'tis peopled, you'll have no Reaſon to brag either of the Number, or Quality of your Admirers. Upon the whole; Don't forget to retire into the Seat of your Reaſon; and above all Things, let there be no haling, nor ſtruggling in the Caſe, but move freely and gracefully, and manage Matters like a Man of Senſe and Spirit, like a Burgher of the whole World, and like a Creature that muſt die ſhortly. And among the reſt of your Stock, let theſe two Maxims be always ready; Firſt, That 'tis not *Things*, but *Thoughts*, which give Diſturbance; for *Things* keep their Diſtance, and teaſe no Body, 'till Fanſy raiſes the Spleen, and grows untoward. The [v] Second is, to conſider, that the Scene is juſt ſhifting and ſliding off into nothing; and that you your ſelf have ſeen abundance of great Alterations. In a Word, generally ſpeaking, the World is all Revolution and Conduct, [x] little better than Fanſy.

IV. If the Faculty of Underſtanding lies in Common amongſt us all, then Reaſon, the Effect of it, muſt be common too: That Reaſon, I ſay, which governs Practice by Commands and Prohibitions. From whence we may conclude, that Mankind are under one common Regulation; and if under one common Law, they muſt be Fellow-Citizens, and belong to the ſame Body politick. From whence 'twill follow, that the whole World is upon the Matter but one Common-wealth: For certainly there is no other *Society* in which Mankind can be incorpo-

[v] See Book 5. Sect. 19. Book 8. Sect. 47. & alib.
[x] See Book 2. Sect. 15.

rated.

rated. Now this common Fund of Understanding, Reason, and Law, is a Commodity of this same Country, or which Way do Mortals light on't? For as the four *Distinctions* in my Body belong to some general Head, and *Species* of *Matter*; for *Instance*; The *Earthy Part* in Me comes from the Division of *Earth*; the *Watry* belongs to another *Element*; the *Airy Particles* flow from a third Spring, and those of Fire from one distinct from all the Former. For by the Way, *Nothing* can no more produce *Something*, than Something can sink into Nothing: And thus in Proportion to the Reasoning upon my Constitution, our *Understanding* must have a Cause, and proceed from some Quarter or other.

V. Death, and Generation are both Mysteries of Nature, and somewhat resemble each other: For the first does but untwist those Elements the latter had wrought together: Now there's nothing that a Man needs be asham'd of in all this; nothing but what his Reason may digest; and what results from his Make and Constitution.

VI. Practices and Humours are generally of a Piece; such Usage from such sort of Men is in a Manner necessary: To be surpriz'd at it, is in effect to Wonder at the eager Quality of Vinegar y. Pray consider that both you, and your Enemy are dropping off, and that e'er long your very Memories will be extinguish'd.

VII. Don't suppose you are hurt, and your Complaint ceases, and then no Damages will be done.

VIII. That which does not make a Man worse, does not make him live worse; and by Consequence he has no harm by't either one Way or t'other.

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y 'Tis probable the Emperour made this Reflexion, upon receiving some great Injury.

IX. Nature was oblig'd to act in this Manner, for her own Convenience.

X. Take notice that all Events [2] turn upon Merit and Congruity. Which if you obſerve nicely, you'll not only perceive a Connexion between Cauſes and Effects, but a ſovereign Diſtribution of Juſtice; which preſides in the Adminiſtration, and gives every Thing its Due. Go on with this Remark; and let all your Actions anſwer the Character of a good Man, I mean a good Man, in the Strictneſs and Notion of Philoſophy.

XI. If a Man affronts you, don't go into his Opinion, or think juſt as he would have you: No, look upon Things as Reality preſents them, and form your Judgment accordingly.

XII. Be always provided with Principles for the following Purpoſes: Firſt, To engage in nothing but what Reaſon dictates, what the ſovereign and legiſlative Part of you ſhall ſuggeſt, for the Intereſt of Mankind. Secondly; To be diſpoſed to quit your Opinion, and alter your Meaſures, when a Friend ſhall give you good Grounds for ſo doing. But then the Reaſons of changing your Mind ought to be drawn from the Conſiderations of Juſtice, publick Good, or ſome ſuch generous Motive; and not becauſe it pleaſes your Fanſy, or promotes your Reputation.

XIII. Have you any Senſe in your Head? Yes: Why don't you make uſe on't then? For if this Faculty does but do its Part, I can't ſee what more you need wiſh for.

XIV. At preſent your Nature is diſtinguiſh'd and ſtands apart; but e'er long you'll vaniſh into the *Whole:* Or if you pleaſe you'll be return'd

[2] That is, which proceed from the firſt Cauſe.

into that active and prolifick *Reason* which gave you your Being [a].

XV. When Frankincense is thrown upon the Altar, one Grain usually falls before another; but then the Distance of Time is insignificant [b].

XVI. The seeming Singularities of Reason quickly wear off: Do but stick close to the Principles of Wisdom, and those who take you now for a Monkey, or a Madman, will make a God of you in a Week's time.

XVII. Don't manage as if you had ten Thousand Years to throw away: Look you; Death stands at your Elbow; make the most of your Minute, and be good for something, while 'tis in your Power.

XVIII. What a great deal of Time and Ease that Man gains who is not troubled with the Spirit of Curiosity: Who lets his Neighbours Thoughts and Behaviour alone, confines his Inspections to himself; and takes Care of the Points of Honesty and Conscience. Truly, as *Agatho* observes, this malicious trifling Humour ought to be check'd. In a Word, we must keep to our own Business, for Rambling and Impertinence is not to be endur'd.

XIX. He that is so very solicitous about being talk'd of when he is dead, and makes his *Memory* his Inclination, does not consider that all his Admirers will quickly be gone. That his Fame will grow less in the next Generation, and flag upon the Course; and like a Ball that's handed from one to another, 'twill be dropt at last; but

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[a] The *Stoicks* suppos'd the Soul a Part of the Deity; and that it was absorb'd in him after Death. [b] This Thought is to shew, that the Difference between a long and short Life, as we call it, is inconsiderable with respect to Eternity.

granting

granting your Monuments and your *Men* immortal, what's their Panegyrick to you, when you are dead, and know nothing of the Matter? And if you were living, what would Commendation signify, unless for the Convenience of Imitation? To conclude; if you depend thus servilely upon the good Word of other People, you'll act below your Nature, and neglect the Improvement of your self.

XX. Whatever is good, has that Quality from it self; 'tis finish'd by its own Nature, and Commendation is no Part of it. Why then a thing is neither better, nor worse, for being prais'd. This holds concerning Things which are call'd *Good* in the common Way of speaking as the Products of Nature and Art; what do you think then of that which deserves this Character in the strictest Propriety? Do you imagine it wants any Thing foreign to compleat the Idea? What is your Opinion of Truth, good Nature and Sobriety? Do any of these Virtues stand in need of a good Word; or are they the worse for a bad one? I hope a Diamond will shine ne'er the less for a Man's being silent about the Worth on't; neither is there any Necessity of flourishing upon a Piece of Gold, to preserve the Intrinsick of the Mettal.

XXI. If human Souls have a Being after Death, which Way has the Air made room for them from all Eternity? Pray how has the Earth been capacious enough to receive all the Bodies buried in't? The Resolution of this latter Question will satisfy the former. For as a Corps after some Continuance turns into Dust, and makes way for another; so when a Man dies, and the Spirit is let loose into the Air, it holds out for some Time, after which it wears off and drops in Pieces.

And

And when Things come to this Pass, 'tis either renew'd, and lighted up into another Soul [c]; or else absorb'd into that of the *Universe*; and thus they make room for Succession. And this may serve for an Answer upon the Supposition of the Soul's surviving the Body. Besides, we are not only to consider the vast Number of Bodies dispos'd of in the Manner above mentioned; but what an infinite are every Day devour'd by Mankind, and other living Creatures, and as it were buried in their Stomachs; and yet by the Transmutation of the Food into Blood and Humours, and by the Conveyance of Perspiration, there's Stowage enough. And now which Way can a Man take a Prospect of the Truth, and trace the History of Nature? Why in order to this, you must divide the thing in Question, into *Matter* and *Form* [d].

XXII. Don't run Riot: Keep your Understanding true, [e] and your Intentions honest.

XXIII. Whatever is agreeable to you, O *Universe* [f], is so to me too. Your Things are never mistim'd. Your Methods are acceptable, and your *Seasons* all *Spring* and *Summer* to me! From *You* all things proceed, subsist in you, and return to You. And if the Poet call'd *Athens* the *City beloved* by *Cecrops*, why mayn't the *World* be styl'd the *Favourite Town* of *Jupiter?*

XXIV. If *you would* live *at* your *Ease*, says *Democritus*, *Manage but a few Things.* I think it had been better, if he had said, Do nothing but

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[c] The *Stoicks* held the Soul a Composition of Fire and Air, but Fire was the Predominant Element. [d] By *Form* the *Stoicks* meant God, or the efficient Cause of all Things. [e] See Book 5. Sect. 36. Book 7. Sect. 54. [f] By the World the *Stoicks* sometimes understood God.

what

what is neceſſary; and what becomes one made for *Society*; nothing but what Reaſon preſcribes, and in the Order too ſhe preſcribes it. For by this Rule a Man may both ſecure the Quality, and draw in the Bulk of his Buſineſs; and have the double Pleaſure of making his Actions good, and few into the Bargain. For the greateſt Part of what we ſay and do, being unneceſſary; if this were but once retrench'd, we ſhould have both more Leiſure, and leſs Diſturbance. And therefore before a Man ſets forward he ſhould aſk himſelf this Queſtion; Am I not upon the Verge of ſomething unneceſſary and impertinent? Farther; we ſhould apply this Hint to what we *Think*, as well as to what we *Do*; for Impertinence of Thought draws unneceſſary Action after it.

XXV. Bring the Matter to an Iſſue, make an Experiment upon your ſelf, and examine your Proficiency in a Life of Virtue; try how you can acquieſce in your Fate, and whether your own Honeſty, and good Nature will content you.

XXVI. Have you ſeen one ſort of Fortune? Pray view t'other too; ne'er be diſturb'd, but reduce your *Perſon* to its natural Bulk, and be not concern'd for more than belongs to you. Is any Man guilty of a Fault? 'Tis to himſelf then. Has any Advantage happen'd to you? 'Tis the Bounty of Fate: 'Twas all of it pre-ordain'd you by the univerſal Cauſe. Upon the Whole; Life is but ſhort, therefore be juſt, and prudent, and make your moſt on't; and when you divert your ſelf, be always upon your Guard.

XXVII. The World is either the Effect of Contrivance or Chance; if the latter, 'tis a World for all that, that is to ſay, 'tis a regular and beautiful Structure. Now can any Man diſcover Sym-

metry in his own Shape, and yet take the *Univerſe* for an Heap of Rubbiſh? I ſay the *Univerſe*, in which the very Diſcord and Confuſion of the Elements ſettles into Harmony and Order g.

XXVIII. There are ſeveral ſorts of ſcandalous Tempers, ſome Malicious, and ſome Effeminate, others Obſtinate, Brutiſh, and Savage. Some Humours are Childiſh and Silly: Some Falſe, and others Scurrilous, ſome Mercenary and ſome Tyrannical.

XXIX. Not to know what's *in* the World, and not to know what's *done* in the World, comes much to the ſame Thing, and a Man is one Way no leſs a Stranger, than t'other. To proceed; he is no better than a Deſerter that renounces publick Reaſon, and the Laws of *Providence*. He is a blind Man, that winks with his Underſtanding; and he is a Beggar that is not furniſhed at *Home*, but wants the Aſſiſtance of another. He that frets himſelf *Sore* becauſe Things don't happen juſt as he would have them, is but a ſort of an *Ulcer* of the World; by murmuring at the Courſe of Nature, he quits the univerſal Body, and gains only the Diſtinction of a Diſeaſe. Never conſidering that the ſame Cauſe which produced the diſpleaſing Accident, made him too. And laſtly, He that is Selfiſh, narrow-Soul'd, and ſets up for a ſeparate Intereſt, is a kind of voluntary *Out-Law*, and diſincorporates himſelf from Mankind.

XXX. This Philoſopher has never a Waſtcoat to his Coat, t'other ne'er a Book to read, and a third is half naked, and yet they are none of them diſcouraged: One learned Man

g This Section is levelled againſt the Hypotheſis of *Epicurus*.

has nothing for his *Stomach*, nor another for his *Lectures*; however, they are resolv'd to starve on, and be *Wise* in despight of Misfortune.

XXXI. Be satisfy'd with your *Business*, and learn to love what you were *bred* to: And as to the Remainder of your Life, be entirely resign'd, and let the Gods do their Pleasure: And when this is done, be neither *Slave* nor *Tyrant* to any body.

XXXII. To begin somewhere; consider how Business, Humour, and Fortune, went with the World in *Vespasian*'s Time; consider this, I say, and you'll find Mankind just at the same pass they are now. Some Marrying, and some concern'd in Education; some Sick, and some Dying; some Fighting, and some Feasting; some drudging at the Plough, and some upon the *Exchange*; some were too *Affable*, and some over-grown with Conceit; one was full of Jealousy, and t'other of Knavery: Here you might find a Parcel wishing for the Death of their Friends; and there a seditious Club complaining of the *Times*; some lov'd their *Wenches*, and some their Bags; some grasp'd at the *Consulship*, and some at the *Scepter*. Well! All's over with that Generation long since. Come forward then to the Reign of *Trajan*; now here you'll find Mortals in the same Circle of Business and Folly they were in before: But they are all gone too. Go on with the Contemplation, and carry it to other *Times* and *Countries*; and here you'll see abundance of People, very busy and big with their Projects, drop off presently, and moulder to *Dust* and *Ashes*: More particularly recollect those within your own Memory, who have been hurry'd on in these vain Pursuits; how they have over-look'd the Dignity of their Nature, and those better Satisfactions in their own Power.

And here you must remember to proportion your Concern to the Weight and Importance of Business: Thus you'll be safe against trifling, and part with Amusements without Regret.

XXXIII. Those Words which were formerly current and proper, are now become obsolete and barbarous. Alas! This is not all: Fame tarnishes in Time too, and Men grow out of Fashion, as well as Language. Those celebrated Names of *Camillus*, *Cæso*, and *Volesus* are antiquated; those of *Scipio*, *Cato*, and *Augustus*, will have the same Fortune; and those of *Adrian* and *Antoninus* must follow: All these Things are transitory, and quickly swallow'd up in Oblivion. I speak this of those who have been the Wonder of their Age, and shin'd with unusual Lustre: But as for the rest, they are no sooner dead, than forgotten. And if you could perpetuate your *Memory*, what does *Fame Everlasting* signifie? Meer Stuff! What then is it, that's worth ones while to be concern'd for? Why, nothing but this; to bear an honest Mind, to act for the Good of *Society*; to deceive no body; to foresee the worst, and be contented with what happens, upon the Score both of the Cause and the Necessity.

XXXIV. Put your self frankly into the Hands of Fate, and let her spin you out what Fortune she pleases.

XXXV. He that does a memorable Action, and those that report it, are all but short-liv'd Things.

XXXVI. Accustom your self to consider, that whatever is produc'd, is produc'd by *Alteration*: That *Nature* loves nothing so much as shifting the *Scene*, and bringing new Persons upon the *Stage*. To speak closely; the Destruction of one Thing, is the making of another; and that which

subsists

ſubſiſts at *preſent*, is, as it were, the *Seed* of *Succeſſion*, which ſprings from it. But if you take *Seed* in the common Notion, and confine it to the *Field*, or the *Garden*, you have a dull Fanſy.

XXXVII. You are juſt taking leave of the World; and don't you know what you are, and what you are not? Han't you done with unneceſſary Deſires? Are you not yet above Diſturbance and Suſpicion, and fully convinc'd, that nothing without your own *Will* can hurt you? Have you not yet learn'd to be Friends with every body, and that to be an *Honeſt Man*, is the only Way to be a *Wiſe* one?

XXXVIII. To underſtand the true Quality of People, you muſt look into their Minds, and examine their Purſuits and Averſions.

XXXIX. Your *Pain* can't lie in another Man's Head, neither can his Miſmanagement be your Misfortune: Nay farther, the Declenſion of your Health, or the Accidents in your Carcaſs, need not affect you. Where then are you Paſſive and Vulnerable? Why, in that Part of you that forms Judgments and Opinions of Things. Don't imagine you are hurt, and you are impregnable: Suppoſe then your Fleſh was hack'd, ſear'd, or putrified, for your Life let your Fanſy lie ſtill [h]; that is, don't conclude what is common to good or ill Men can be Good or Evil in it ſelf: For that which may be every body's Lot, muſt in its own Nature be *indifferent*.

XL. You ought frequently to conſider, that the World is an *Animal* [i], conſiſting of one *Soul* and *Body*; that an univerſal Senſe runs through

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[h] A *Stoical* Rhodomontade. [i] The *Stoicks* believ'd the World animated, and that God was the Soul of it.

the whole Mass of Matter. You should likewise reflect how *Nature* acts by a joint Effort, and as it were altogether; and how every Thing contributes to the Being of every Thing. And lastly, what Connection and Subordination there is between Causes and Effects.

XLI. Would you know what you are? *Epictetus* will tell you, that you are a *living Soul*, that drags a *Carcass* about with her.

XLII. Things that subsist upon *Change*, and owe their Being to Instability, can neither be considerably Good nor Bad [k].

XLIII. The World hurries off apace, and Time is like a rapid River: A Thing is no sooner well *come*, but 'tis *past*; and then another is posted after it, and it may be, at length, the first will return under another Appearance.

XLIV. Whatever happens *here*, is as common, and well known, as a Rose in the Spring, or an Apple in Autumn: Of this kind are Diseases and Death, Calumny and Undermining; and several other Things, which raise and depress the Spirits of unthinking People.

XLV. *Antecedents* and *Consequents*, are dexterously ty'd together in the World: Things are not carelessly thrown on an Heap, and join'd more by *Number* than *Nature*, but, as it were, artificially inlaid into each other. And as the present *Set* of *Appearances* are very curiously contriv'd, so those upon the *Stocks* are carry'd on by Rule, and come forward with great Uniformity.

XLVI. The Elements are always shifting their Forms, and transmuting into each other: Therefore don't forget the Saying of *Heraclitus*; That *the Earth dies into Water*, *Water into Air*, *Air into*

[k] See Book 7. Sect. 23. & alib.

Fire,

Fire, and ſo backward. Remember likewiſe the Story of the Man that travelled on, without knowing to what Place the Way would bring him; and that many People conteſt the Point with that *Reaſon* that governs the World, and with which they are daily converſant; and ſeem perfectly unacquainted with thoſe Things which occur daily. Farther, we muſt not nod over Buſineſs, nor dream away Life, like People who fanſy they are mightily employ'd, when they are faſt in their Beds: Neither are we to be wholly govern'd by Tradition; for that's like Children, who believe any Thing their Parents tell them.

XLVII. Put the Caſe ſome God ſhould acquaint you, you were to die to Morrow, or next Day at fartheſt. Under this Warning you would be a very poor Wretch, if you ſhould ſtrongly ſolicit for the longeſt Time: For alas! how inconſiderable is the Difference? In like manner, if you would reaſon right, and compute upon the Notion of Eternity, you would not be much concern'd whether your Life was up to Morrow, or a thouſand Years hence.

XLVIII. Conſider how many Phyſicians are dead that us'd to value themſelves upon the Cure of their Patients; how many Aſtrologers who thought themſelves great Men by foretelling the Death of others; how many Philoſophers have gone the Way of all Fleſh, after all their learned Diſputes about dying, and Immortality; how many Field-worthies, who had knock'd ſo many Men's Brains out; how many Tyrants who manag'd the Power of Life and Death with as much Pride and Rigour, as if themſelves had been immortal; how many Cities, if I may ſay ſo, have given up the Ghoſt: For Inſtance *Helice* in *Greece*, *Pompeii* and *Herculanum* in *Italy*;

not to mention many beſides. Do but recollect your Acquaintance; and here you'll find People managing and making Way for Funerals; mourning for their Friends, and giving Occaſion for the ſame Office themſelves. And all within a ſmall Compaſs of Time. In ſhort, Mankind are poor tranſitory Things! They are one Day in the Rudiments of Life, and almoſt the next turn'd into *Mummy*, or *Aſhes*. Your Way is therefore to manage this *Minute* wiſely, and part with it chearfully; and like a ripe Nut, when you drop out of the Huſk, be ſure to ſpeak well of the *Seaſon*, and make your Acknowledgments to the *Tree* that bore you.

XLIX. Stand firm like a Rock, againſt which tho' the Waves batter and ſwell, they fall flat at laſt. How unfortunate has this Accident made me, cries ſuch a one! Not at all: He ſhould rather ſay, what a happy Mortal am I, for being unconcern'd upon the Occaſion; for being neither ſhocked at the preſent, nor afraid of what's to come? The Thing might have happen'd to any other Man as well as my ſelf, but for all that every Body would not have been ſo eaſy under it. Why then is not the good Fortune of the *Bearing* more conſiderable than the ill Fortune of the *Happening*? Or to ſpeak properly, how can that be a Misfortune to a Man, which is no Diſappointment to his Nature? And how can that croſs upon a Man's Nature which falls in with the very Intention and Deſign of it? Now what human Nature rightly diſpos'd drives at, I ſuppoſe, you are not to learn at this time of Day. To apply this Reaſoning: Does the preſent Accident hinder your being Honeſt and Brave, Temperate, and Modeſt, Judicious, and Unſervile? *&c.* Now when a Man is furniſhed with theſe good Quali-

ties, the higheſt Notion of him is finiſh'd, and his Nature has what ſhe would have. Farther; when any thing grows troubleſome, recollect this Maxim; that generous Behaviour is too ſtrong for ill Fortune, and turns it to an Advantage.

L. To conſider thoſe old People that reſign'd ſo unwillingly, is, for a common Notion, not unſerviceable; it helps us ſomewhat to face Death, and contemn it: For what are theſe long liv'd Mortals more than thoſe that went off in their Infancy? What's become of *Cæcilianus*, *Fabius*, *Julianus*, and *Lepidus?* Their Heads are all laid ſomewhere; they buried a great many, but came at laſt to't themſelves. Upon the Whole; the Difference between long and ſhort Life is inſignificant; eſpecially if you conſider the Accidents, the Company, and the Carcaſs you muſt go through with: Therefore don't let a Thought of this kind affect you one Way or t'other: Do but look upon the aſtoniſhing Notion of Time and Eternity: What an immenſe deal has run out already, and how Infinite 'tis ſtill in the Future: Do but conſider this, and you'll find three Days and three Ages of Life come much to the ſame Meaſure and Reckoning.

LI. Always go the ſhorteſt Way to work: Now the neareſt Road to your Buſineſs lies through Honeſty. Let it be your conſtant Method then to deal clearly and above Board. And by this Means you need not fatigue it, you need not quarrel, flouriſh, and diſſemble like other People.

BOOK V.

I. WHEN you find an Unwillingneſs to riſe early in the Morning, make this ſhort Speech to your ſelf: I am getting up now to do the Buſineſs of a Man; and am I out of Humour for going about that I was made for; and for the ſake of which I was ſent into the World? Was I then deſign'd for nothing but to doſe and batten beneath the Counterpane? Well! but this is a comfortable Way of living. Granting that: Wer't thou born only for Pleaſure; were you never to do any thing? I thought Action had been the End of your Being: Pray look upon the Plants and Birds, the Piſmires, Spiders, and Bees, and you'll ſee them all regular and induſtrious, exerting their Nature, and buſy in their Station. For ſhame! Shall a Spider act like a Spider, and make the moſt of her Matters; and ſhan't a Man act like a Man? Why don't you rouze your Faculties, and manage up to your Kind? For all that, there's no Living without Reſt: True; but then let's follow Nature's Directions, and not take too much on't: She likewiſe has given you leave to eat and drink within a Rule; but here you generally exceed your Commiſſion, and go beyond Convenience: Whereas in Buſineſs you are apt to favour your ſelf, and do leſs than lies in your Power. In earneſt, you have no true Love for your ſelf; if you had you would improve your Nature, humour her Motions, and ſolicit her Intereſt. Now when a Man loves his Trade, how he'll ſweat and drudge to perform to a Curioſity, and make himſelf Maſter on't! But to ſpeak out, You mind your Perſon leſs than a *Turner* does the making of a Chair; a Dancing-maſter has much more

more Regard for his Heels, than you have for your Head: And as for Wealth and Popularity, how ſtrongly are they purſued by the Vain and the Covetous. All theſe People, when their Fanſy is once ſtruck, puſh their Point, Might and Main, and will ſcarcely allow themſelves neceſſary Refreſhment. And now can you think the Functions of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Generoſity, leſs valuable than theſe petty Amuſements?

II. What an eaſy Matter 'tis to ſtem the Current of your Imagination; to diſcharge a troubleſome, or improper Thought, and grow as calm and regular as one would wiſh?

III. Don't think any Action beneath you, which Reaſon and Circumſtances require; and never be miſled by the Apprehenſion of Cenſure, or Reproach. Where Honeſty prompts you to ſay, or do any thing, ne'er baulk your ſelf, or ſtart at the Matter. If other People are particular in their Fanſies and Opinions, mind them not: Be you govern'd by the Reaſon within you; purſue that which is moſt for your own, and the common Intereſt. For to ſpeak ſtrictly, theſe two are but one and the ſame.

IV. I'll jog on in that Path which Nature has chalk'd out, till my Legs ſink under me; and then I ſhall be at reſt, and expire into that Air which has given me Breath; fall upon that Earth which has maintain'd my Parents, help'd my Nurſe to her Milk, and ſupply'd me with Meat and Drink for ſo many Years; and tho' its Favours have been often abus'd, ſtill ſuffers me to tread upon't.

V. Wit and Smartneſs are not mightily your Talent: What then? There are a great many other good Qualities in which you can't pretend Nature has fail'd you: Improve them as far

as

as you can, and let's have that which is perfectly in your Power. You may if you please, behave your self like a Man of Gravity and good Faith; endure Hardship, and despise Pleasure; want but a few things, and complain of nothing; you may be dispassionate, stand upon your own Legs, and be great if you please, and have nothing of ill Nature, Luxury, or Trifling in your Humour: Don't you see how much you may do if you have a mind to't; and how the Plea of Incapacity is out of Doors? And yet you don't push, and manage as you should do: What then! Does any natural Defect force you upon Grumbling, Miserableness, or laying your Faults upon your Constitution, upon Flattery or Ostentation; upon Uncertainty of Temper, and rolling from one Folly to another? Can you say you are so weakly made, as to be driven upon these Practices? The immortal Gods know to the contrary! No, you might have stood clear of all this long since: And after all, if your Parts were somewhat low, and your Understanding heavy, your Way had been to have taken the more Pains with your self, and not to have lain Fallow, and doted upon your own Dullness.

VI. Some Men when they do you a Kindness, are presently for ringing the Obligation in your Ears; others are more modest than this comes to: However, they remember the Favour, and look upon you as their Debtor. A third sort shall be every jot as much Benefactors, and yet scarce know any thing of the matter. These are much like a Vine, which is satisfied by being fruitful in its kind, and bears a Bunch of Grapes without expecting any Thanks for it. A fleet Horse or Greyhound don't use to make a Noise when they have perform'd handsomely, nor a

Bee

Bee neither when she has made a little Honey: And thus a Man that's rightly kind never proclaims a good Turn, but does another as soon as he can; just like a Vine that bears again the next Season. Now we should imitate those who are so obliging, as hardly to remember their Beneficence. But you'll say, a Man ought to understand the Quality of his own Actions. 'Tis somewhat natural for one that's generous to be conscious of his Generosity; yes truly, and to desire the Person oblig'd should be sensible of it too; I grant what you say is in a great Measure True: And if you don't take me right, you'll make one of those untoward Benefactors I first mention'd: Indeed, they think their Grounds plausible enough; for their Vanity imposes upon them. But if you'll view the Case in its true Colours, the Privacy of doing a good Turn will never discourage you.

VII. The *Athenians* us'd to be mighty clamorous to *Jupiter* for Rain upon their own Lands, but not a Word for other People: Now, to my Mind, they had e'en better have held their Tongues, or else pray'd with more of Extent and Generosity.

VIII. *Æsculapius*, as we commonly speak, has prescrib'd such a one [1] riding out, walking in his Slippers, or a cold Bath: Now, much to the same Meaning we may affirm, that *Providence*, or the *Soul* of the Universe, has order'd this or that Person a Disease, loss of Limbs or Estate, or some such other Calamity. For, as in the first Case, the Word *Prescribed* signifies a Direction for the Health of the *Patient*; so in the latter it means an Application proper for the *Constitution* and *Benefit* of *Fate*. And thus these harsher Events may be counted fit

[1] Probably in a Dream.

for

for us, as *Freestone*, which is well join'd and lies snug in a Building, may be said to fit it. Indeed, the *Whole* of *Nature* consists of an Harmony and Congruity of Parts; for as the World has its Form and Entireness from that universal Matter of which it consists, so the Character and Distinction of Fate results from the Quality and Concurrence of all other Causes contain'd in it. The common People understand this Notion very well; their Way of speaking is, *This was sent him by Destiny*. Say you so? Was there not then somewhat of Purpose and Design in it? Let us then comply with our Doom, as we do with the Prescriptions of a celebrated Physician: These Doses are often unpalatable and rugged, and yet the Desire of Health makes them go merrily down. Now, that which Nature esteems Profit and Convenience, should be no less valued than your own Health: And therefore when any cross Accident happens, take it quietly to you, 'tis for the Good of the Universe, and *Jupiter* himself is the better for't [m]. Depend upon't, this had never been sent you, if the World had not found its Account in't: Neither does Nature act at random, or order any Thing which is not suitable to those Beings under her Government. You have two Reasons therefore to be contented with your Condition: First, because you were born, and singled out for't; 'twas assign'd you from the beginning, by the highest and most ancient Causes. Secondly, 'tis for the Interest of him that governs the World [n]; it perfects his Nature in some Measure, and continues his Happiness; for it holds in *Causes*, no less than in *Matter* and *Quantity*; if you lop off any Part of the Continuity and Con-

[m] A *Stoical* Paradox. [n] A gross Error of the *Stoicks*.

nection,

nection, you maim the Whole. Now if you are diſpleas'd with your Circumſtances, you diſmember *Nature*, and pull the World in Pieces, as much as lies in your Power.

IX. Be not uneaſy, diſcourag'd, or out of Humour, becauſe *Practice* falls ſhort of *Precept* in ſome Particulars. If you happen to be beaten off your Reaſon, come on again, and let your Fanſy ſtrike in at your ſecond Tryal, and don't go like a School-Boy to his Maſter, with an Ill-will: No, you muſt apply to *Philoſophy* with Inclination, as thoſe who have ſore Eyes make uſe of a good Receipt: And when you are thus diſpos'd, you'll eaſily acquieſce, and be govern'd by Reaſon. And here you are to remember, that Philoſophy or true Wiſdom will put you upon nothing but what your Nature wiſhes and calls for: And can you be ſo unreaſonable as to croſs the Inclinations of your Nature? Is not her Fanſy the moſt agreeable of any Thing? And does not *Pleaſure* often deceive us under this Pretence? Now think a little, and tell me what there is more delightful than downright Honeſty and Religion, than Generoſity and Greatneſs of Mind? And once more, what can be more entertaining than Prudence; than to be furniſh'd with that Underſtanding, which keeps a Man from making a falſe Step, and helps him to good Fortune in all his Buſineſs [o]?

X. Things are ſo much perplex'd, and in the dark, that ſeveral conſiderable Philoſophers look'd upon them as altogether unintelligible [p], and that there was no certain Teſt for the Diſcovery of Truth: Even the *Stoicks* agree, that *Nature* and

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[o] The *Stoicks* Maxim is, *A wiſe Man can never be unfortunate, let his Circumſtances be what they will.* [p] Of this Opinion were *Pyrrho* and the new *Academicks*.

Certainty

Certainty is very hard to come at; that our Understandings are always liable to Error, and that Infallibility is meer Vanity and Pretence. However, our Ignorance is not so great, but that we may discover how transitory and insignificant all Things are; that those we commonly call the best Circumstances, are sometimes in the worst Hands; and that 'tis possible for *Thieves*, *Whores*, and *Catamites* to run away with the World, and who then would care Three Pence for't? Farther, consider the Temper of those you converse with, and you'll find the best will hardly do; not to mention, that a Man has Work enough to make himself tolerable to himself: And since we have nothing but Darkness and Dirt to grasp at, since Time and Matter, Motion and Mortals, are always rolling, and running out of themselves; for these Reasons, I say, I can't imagine what there is here worth the minding. On the other hand, a Man ought to keep up his Spirits, for 'twill not be long before his *Discharge* comes. In the mean time his Point is to be easy, and satisfy himself with these two Considerations; the one is, that nothing will befal me but what is for the Interest of the *Universe* [q]; the other, that no body can command my Practice, or force me to act against my own Judgment.

XI. What Use do I put my Soul to, or what Hand do I make of my Reason? 'Tis a serviceable Question this, and should frequently be put to ones self: I say, how does my sovereign Part stand affected? And what's the Furniture and Complexion of my Mind? Is there nothing of the *Boy* or the *Beast* in't? Nothing that's either Tyrannical or Effeminate?

[q] See Sect. 8.

XII. What

XII. What sort of good Things those are, which are commonly so reckon'd, you may learn from hence: For the Purpose, if you reflect upon those Qualities which are intrinsically valuable, such as Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude, you won't find a Jest upon them apt to relish and make Sport; whereas upon the Advantages of Fortune and common Estimation, a Piece of Raillery will pass well enough. Thus we see the Generality are struck with the Distinction, otherwise they would not dislike the Liberty in one Case, and allow it in the other. The Felicities of Riches, Luxury, and Ambition, are all within the Privilege of Buffoons, and liable to the Lash of the Stage: Now, what Significancy can there be in these Things, when a *Poet*'s Jest will take Place upon them? And that comical Droll may be patly applied to the Owner; *He is so stuff'd*, says the Play, *with Wealth and Finery, that he has no room for his Close-stool.*

XIII. My Being consists of *Matter* and *Form*, that is, of Soul and Body: *Annihilation* will reach neither of them; for as they were never produc'd out of *Nothing*, so they will always remain *Something:* The Consequence is, that every Part of me will serve to make something in the *World*; and thus I shall be toss'd from one Figure to another, through an infinite Succession of Change: And what Wonder of all this? This constant Method of Alteration gave me my Being, and my Father before me, and so on to Eternity backward; for I think I may speak thus, though the *World* is confin'd within a certain determinate Period [r].

[r] See Book 10. Sect. 7. Book 11. Sect. 1.

XIV. Reaſon needs no foreign Aſſiſtance, but is ſufficient for its own Purpoſes. This Faculty moves within it ſelf, and makes directly for the Point in view: For to take the Matter rightly, Honeſty is always the neareſt Way to Succeſs.

XV. Thoſe Things don't belong to a Man, which don't belong to him as a Man, or under the Definition of his *Species*. This Notion may be apply'd to all *external Advantages*: For theſe are not included in the Idea; they are not required of us as Men; Humane Nature does not promiſe them, neither is ſhe perfected by them; from whence it follows, that they can neither conſtitute the *chief End* of Man, nor ſtrictly contribute towards it. Farther, if theſe Things were any real Additions, how comes the Contempt of them, and the being eaſy without them, to be ſo great a Commendation? To balk an Advantage would be Folly, for one can't have too much of that which is good. But the Caſe ſtands otherwiſe; for we know that Self-Denial, and Indifference about theſe Things, is the Character of a good Man, and goes for a Mark of true Greatneſs.

XVI. Your Manners will depend very much upon the Quality of what you frequently think on; for the Soul is, as it were, ting'd with the Colour and Complexion of *Thought*: Be ſure therefore to work *in* ſuch Maxims as theſe. A Man may live as he ſhould do, and behave himſelf well in all Places; by Conſequence, a Life of Virtue, and that of a *Courtier*, are not inconſiſtent. Again; That which a Thing is made for, 'tis made to act for; and that which 'tis made to act for, 'tis naturally carried to; and in the due Purſuit of this Tendency the End of the Agent conſiſts: Now, where the *End* of a Thing is, there the Advantage and

and Improvement of it is certainly lodg'd. From hence the Inference will be, that the Happineſs of Mankind lies in Society and Correſpondence; ſince that we were made for this Purpoſe, I have prov'd already [f]. For is it not plain, that the lower Order of Beings are made for their *Betters*, and the higher for the Service of each other? Now, as *Life* is preferable to bare *Exiſtence*, ſo amongſt all living Creatures, the *Rational* are the beſt Quality.

XVII. To expect an Impoſſibility is Diſtraction: Now 'tis impoſſible for ill Men not to follow their Biaſs, and ſhew their Temper in ſome Inſtance or other.

XVIII. There's nothing happens to any Perſon but what is in his Power to go through with: Some People have had very ſevere Tryals, and yet, either by having leſs Underſtanding or more Pride than ordinary, have charged bravely thro' the Misfortune, and come off without a *Scratch*; now 'tis a ſcandalous Indecency, to let Ignorance and Vanity do more with us, than Prudence and Principle.

XIX. 'Tis *Thoughts*, not *Things*, which take hold of the Soul. Outward Objects can't force their Paſſage into the Mind, nor ſet any of its Wheels a-going: No, the Impreſſion comes from her ſelf, and 'tis her *Notions* which affect her. As for the Contingencies of Fortune, they are either great or little, according to the Opinion ſhe has of her own Strength.

XX. When we conſider we are bound to be ſerviceable to Mankind, and bear with their Faults, we ſhall perceive there's a common Tye of Nature and Relation between us. But when we ſee

[f] See Book 2. Sect. 1.

People grow troubleſome, and diſturb us in our Buſineſs, here we are to look upon Men as *indifferent* ſort of Things, neither Good nor Bad to us, but according to our Management. 'Tis true, like a croſs Wind, they may hinder me in the *executing* Part, but all this while my Inclinations ſtand firm, and the Reſerve of a good Meaning is ſecured to me. Being rightly diſpos'd, I can paſs on to the Exerciſe of another Virtue; and thus 'tis probable I may gain by the Oppoſition, and turn the Diſappointment to an Advantage.

XXI. Among all Things in the *Univerſe* direct your Worſhip to the greateſt: And which is that? 'Tis that Being which manages and governs all the reſt. And as you worſhip the beſt Thing in Nature, ſo you are to pay a proportionable Regard to the beſt Thing in your ſelf: You'll know it by its Relation to the Deity: The Quality of its Functions will diſcover it: 'Tis the reigning Power *within you*, which diſpoſes of your Actions and your Fortune.

XXII. That which does not damnify the City [t], or Body Politick, can't, properly ſpeaking, damnify any Perſon that belongs to it. Therefore when you think you are ill uſed, let this Reflection be your Remedy, and ſay thus to your ſelf; If the Community is not the worſe for't, neither am I: But if the Community is injur'd, your Buſineſs is to ſhew the Perſon concern'd his Fault, but not to grow paſſionate about it.

XXIII. Reflect frequently upon the Inſtability of Things, and how very faſt the Scenes of *Nature* are ſhifted. *Matter* is in a perpetual Flux; *Change* is always, and every where at Work, it

[t] By the City the Emperour means the World; to which, as he obſerves, private Diſadvantages are a Convenience.

ſtrikes

ſtrikes through *Cauſes* and *Effects*, and leaves nothing fixt and permanent: And then how very near the two vaſt Gulphs of Time, the *Paſt* and the *Future* ſtand together! Now, upon the whole, is not that Man a Blockhead, that thinks theſe momentary Things big enough either to make him proud or uneaſy?

XXIV. Remember what an *Atome* your Perſon ſtands for, in reſpect of the *Univerſe*, what a Minute of unmeaſurable Time comes to your Share, and what a ſmall Concern you are in the Empire of *Fate!*

XXV. A Man miſbehaves himſelf towards me: What's that to me? The Action is his, and the Will that ſet him upon't is his, and therefore let him look to't: As for me, I am in the Condition Providence would have me, and am doing what becomes me.

XXVI. Whether the Motions of your Body are rugged or agreeable, don't let your Reaſon be concern'd with them; confine the Impreſſions to their reſpective Quarters, and let your Mind keep her Diſtance, and not run in. 'Tis true, that which reſults from the Laws of the *Union*, from the Force of Sympathy or Conſtitution, muſt be *felt*, for Nature will have its Courſe; but tho' the *Senſation* can't be ſtopp'd, it muſt not be over-rated, nor ſtrain'd to the Quality of *Good* or *Evil*.

XXVII. We ought to converſe with the Gods, and live the Life that they do: This is done by being contented with the Appointments of Providence, and by obeying the Orders of that *Genius*, which is both the Deputy and the Offspring of *Jupiter:* Now this Divine Authority is neither more nor leſs than that Soul and Reaſon which every Man carries about him.

XXVIII. Are you angry at a rank Smell, or an ill ſcented Breath? Why, if a Man's Lungs or Stomach are ulcerated, or his Arm-pits out of Order, how can he help it? But you'll ſay, the Caſe is not parallel, between an ill Action and an ill Breath; the one is Choice, and the other Neceſſity. Well, if you think Mankind ſo full of Reaſon, pray make uſe of your own: Argue the Caſe with the faulty Perſon, and ſhew him his Error: If your Advice prevails, he is what you would have him; and then there is no need of being angry: And laſtly, don't miſmanage either by your Haughtineſs or Servility.

XXIX. You may live *now*, if you pleaſe, as you would chuſe to do if you were near dying: But ſuppoſe People won't let you; why then give Life the Slip [r], but by no means make a Misfortune on't. If the Room ſmoaks, I leave it, and there's an end; for why ſhould one be concern'd at the matter? However if nothing of this kind drives me out, I'll ſtay, behave my ſelf like a Man of Spirit, and do what I have a mind to; but then I'll have a Mind to nothing but what I am led to by Reaſon and publick Intereſt.

XXX. God, or the Soul of the *Univerſe*, is of a ſociable Diſpoſition: For this Reaſon he has made the coarſer Part of the Creation for the ſake of the finer. And as for thoſe Beings of the higher Rank, he has engaged them to each other by Inclination. You ſee how admirably Things are ranged, and ſorted according to the Dignity of their Kind; and cemented together by Nature and Benevolence!

XXXI. Recollect how you have behav'd your ſelf all along, towards the Gods, your Parents,

[r] A *Stoical* Piece of Diſtraction.

Brothers,

Brothers, Wife and Children; towards your Inſtructors, Governours, Friends, Acquaintance and Servants; whether you have not done, or ſaid ſomething unbecoming to ſome of them. Recollect how much Buſineſs you have been engag'd in, and how well you have gone through it: That now your Taſk is done, and the Hiſtory of your Life finiſh'd. Remember likewiſe, how much Bravery you can make out, how much of Pleaſure, and Pain, and Grandeur, you have deſpiſed; and how often you have done Good againſt Evil.

XXXII. Why ſhould Skill and Knowledge be diſturb'd at the Cenſures of Ignorance? But you'll ſay, who are theſe knowing and ſkilful People? Why thoſe who are acquainted with the original Cauſe and End of all Things, with that *Reaſon* that pervades the Maſs of *Matter*, Renews the World at certain Periods, and governs it through all the Lengths of Time.

XXXIII. You'll quickly be reduc'd to *Aſhes* and *Skeleton*; and it may be you may have a Name left you, and it may be not: And what's a Name? Nothing but Sound and Syllable. And then for thoſe Things which are ſo much valued in the World, they are miſerably empty and inſignificant. The Prize is ſo mean, that it makes the Scuffle about them ridiculous. It puts one in mind of a parcel of Puppies ſnarling for a Bone; and the Conteſts of little Children, ſometimes tranſported and ſometimes all in Tears about a *Play-thing*. And as for Modeſty and good Faith, Truth and Juſtice; they have left this wicked World and retired to Heaven: And now what is it that can keep you here? For if the *Objects* of *Senſe* are floating and changeable, and the *Organs* miſty and apt to be impos'd on: If the Soul is

but a *Vapour* drawn off the Blood, and the Applauſe of little Mortals inſignificant: If the Caſe ſtands thus, what is it you *ſtay* for? Why I am reſolved to have Patience, 'till I am either extinguiſh'd or *remov'd* [w]. And 'till that time comes, what is to be done? The Anſwer is eaſy: To worſhip the Gods, and ſpeak honourably of them; to be beneficial to Mankind; to bear with their Faults, and let their Property alone. And laſtly, to remember, that whatever lies without the Compaſs of your Perſon, is nothing of yours, nor in your Power.

XXXIV. You may be always ſucceſsful if you do but ſet out well, and let your Thoughts and Practice proceed upon *Grounds* and Method. There are two Properties and Privileges common to God and all rational Beings; the one is, not to be hindred by any thing foreign; the other, to make Virtue their ſupreme Satisfaction, and not ſo much as to deſire any thing farther.

XXXV. If this Accident is no Fault of mine, nor a Conſequence of it; and beſides if the *Community* is ne'er the worſe for't, why am I concern'd? Now which Way the *Community* [x] may be damnified, I ſhall diſcourſe afterwards [y].

XXXVI. Don't ſuffer a ſuddain Impreſſion to overbear your Judgment. Let thoſe that want your Aſſiſtance have it, as far as the Caſe requires. But if Fortune, as they call it, lies hard upon them, don't you conclude upon any real Damage, for there's no ſuch Thing. However, upon the Score of Tenderneſs and Humanity, you may condeſcend to their Weakneſs, and

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[w] Into a State of Separation. [x] By the *Community* is meant the World. [y] See Book 8. Sect. 55.

treat

treat them a little in their own Way. But then you must remember to keep your Notion true, and not suffer your Compassion to run away with your Reason. Thus when you are haranging in the *Rostra* [2] and courting the Populace; when you are thus busie, I say, a little of this to your self would not be amiss. *Heark you, Friend, have you forgot that this Glitter of Honour, is but Tinsel and Pageantry? I grant it, but for all that 'tis extreamly valued. 'Tis mighty well! And because other People are Fools, must you be so too? You may be a happy Fellow in any Ground, provided you have the Wit to chuse your Fortune handsomely: Now if you ask farther, I must tell you, if your Manners be good, your Fortune can never be bad. For in a Word, Happiness* lies all in the Functions of Reason, in warrantable Desires, and regular Practice.

BOOK VI.

AS *Matter* is all of it pliable and obsequious, so that *sovereign Reason* which gives Laws to it, has neither Motive nor Inclination to bring an Evil upon any thing. This great Being is no Way unfriendly or hostile in his Nature, he forms and governs all Things, but hurts nothing.

II. Do but your Duty, and don't trouble your self about your Condition: If you behave your self well, ne'er mind whether 'tis in the Cold, or by a good Fire; whether you are overwatch-

[2] A Pulpit in one of the Squares at *Rome*, where the great Men use to make Speeches to carry Elections.

ed,

ed, or satisfied with Sleep; whether you have a good Word, or a bad one; whether you are in Health, or Dying; for this last must be done at one Time or other. 'Tis part of the Business of Life to lose it handsomly. Upon the Whole; if we do but manage the *Present* to Advantage, that's enough.

III. Look throughly into Matters, and let not the Distinction, or intrinsick Value of any thing escape you.

IV. The present Appearance of Things will quickly undergo a Change, and be either exhaled into common *Matter*, or dispersed into their respective *Elements*[a].

V. That intelligent Being that governs the *Universe*, has perfect Views of every Thing; his Knowledge penetrates the Quality of *Matter*, and sees through all the Consequences of his own Operations.

VI. The best way of Revenge, is not to imitate the Injury.

VII. Be always doing something serviceable to Mankind, and let this constant Generosity be your only Pleasure; and not forgetting in the mean Time, a due Reverence and Regard to the Deity.

VIII. 'Tis the governing Part of the Mind which awakens Thought, and alters the Quality of it; which gives what Air she pleases to her own *Likeness*, and to all the Accidents and Circumstances without her.

IX. The particular Effects in the World are all wrought by one intelligent Nature. This uni-

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[a] Some Philosophers held all *Matter* was the same; and others maintain'd that the four *Elements* were distinct, and original Principles of *Bodies*.

versal

verſal Cauſe has no foreign Aſſiſtant, no interloping Principle, either *without* his *Juriſdiction*, or *within* it.

X. For Argument ſake let's uſe a Disjunction; the World then is either nothing but a Rencounter of *Atomes*, a Heap of Confuſion, and a Hurry of Chance; or elſe 'tis the Effect of Deſign, and under the Laws of Order, and *Providence:* If the firſt, what ſhould I ſtay for, where Nature is in ſuch a Hotchpotch, and Things are ſo blindly jumbled together? Why don't I rather make it my Choice to diſengage, and return to the Element of Earth [b] as ſoon as may be? Why ſhould I give my ſelf any Trouble? Let me do what I will, my *Conſtitution* muſt be *Broken*, and my *Atomes* all *Diſhanded* in a little Time. But if there is a *Providence*, and the latter Part of the Disjunction holds good; then I adore the great Governour of the World, and am eaſy in the Proſpect of Protection.

XI. When you happen to be ruffled a little, and throw off your Temper by any croſs Accident, retire immediately into your Reaſon; and don't move out of Rule any longer than needs muſt: For the ſooner you recover a falſe Step, the more you will be Maſter of your Practice.

XII. Put the Caſe you had a Mother in Law and a Mother at the ſame Time; tho' you would pay regard to the Firſt, your Converſe I conceive would be moſtly with the Latter. Let the *Court* and *Philoſophy* repreſent theſe two Relations to you; apply frequently to this laſt, and ſet up your Stand with her. For 'tis a Life of Virtue

[b] An Expreſſion of *Homer*.

and

and Philoſophy, which makes you and your *Courtiers* tolerable to each other.

XIII. To check the Pleaſure of Luxury, we ſhould in our Fanſy at leaſt take away the garniſhing of the Diſhes, the Value the Cook ſets upon them, and give them Names leſs tempting than ordinary. For the Purpoſe, we may ſay, this is but the Carcaſs of a Fiſh, this Fowl has no more Life in't than I ſhall have when I am buried; and t'other is no better than a Piece of a Dead-Hog. And then for this Bottle of *Falernо* [c], what is it but a little Moiſture ſqueez'd out of the Tumour of a Grape? And to mortifie the Vanity of fine Cloaths, and prevent your *Purple* [d] from growing too big for you, conſider that 'tis nothing but Sheeps Hair twiſted together, and ſtain'd in the Gore of a little Shell-fiſh. And if we were to proceed to ſome other Satisfactions of Senſe, we ſhould find them but coarſe in their Cauſes and Conſtitution; and as theſe Notions ſtrike through the Surface, preſs into the Heart of Things, and ſhew them in their natural Colours; ſo we ſhould carry them on and apply them to all the Pageantry of Life. And where things appear moſt plauſible and Pretending, be ſure to bring them to the Teſt, and look within them. And when the Paint is thus pull'd off, the Coarſeneſs of them will eaſily be diſcovered. Without this Care, Figure and Appearance are great Cheats; and when you think your Fanſy is beſt employ'd, you'll be moſt fooled: Even Virtue it ſelf is ſometimes counterfeited, and Gravity is nothing elſe

[c] *Falernus* a Countrey in *Campania*, which affords the richeſt Wines in *Italy*. [d] *Purple* was ſo much the Privilege of the Emperour, that 'twas Treaſon for the Subject to wear it.

but Grimace. Thus *Crates* discovered *Xenocrates*'s Philosophy to be only skin deep; great Demureness *without*, and no less Vanity *within*.

XIV. The *Inclination* of the generality may be reduced to these Heads, some People are little enough to be smitten with Things in the State of bare Existence or Vegetation; as with *Wood*, *Stones*, *Fruit*, and such like. Others who are somewhat more tolerable in their Fansy, must have Life to charm them; and these, it may be, are mightily in love with their Flocks and Herds. A third Sort, better furnish'd than the former, admire nothing beneath human Nature; but then they don't take in the whole Kind, but 'tis either the Skill, Parts, or Property [e] of some Particulars which affect them. But he that values a rational Creature without Limitation or Partiality, runs into none of the Dotages above mention'd; but makes it his chief Business to look at Home, to keep Reason and good Nature stirring, and to assist all Mankind in the publick Interest.

XV. Some Things are pressing for Birth and *Being*, and others are posting off, and that which was entire just now, is part of it spent already. The *World* is renew'd by this Change and Rolling, no less than *Time* is by a perpetual Succession. Now who wou'd dote upon Things hurried down the Stream thus fast, and which 'tis impossible to take hold on? Such a Passion is much like falling in Love with a Sparrow flying over your Head, you have as it were but one Glimpse of her, and she is out of sight. To go on; Life is but a sort of *Exhalation* of the Blood, and a little Air suck'd into the Lungs. Now to

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[e] As in Slaves who belong to their Masters.

return

return your Breath for the Support of Life, and expire your last, when you lose it, is much what the same Action.

XVI. Neither the Perspiration of Plants, nor the Breath of Animals, nor the Impressions of *Sensation*, nor the Poppet-motions [f] of Passions, are Privileges of any great Value. To which we may add the Instinct of crowding into *Herds*, together with the Functions of *Nutrition*; this latter being not unlike a separating kind of Evacuation. What then is it that you count worth your Esteem? Huzza's and Acclamations? Not at all. Why then you must not value Harangues and Panegyrick; for this is but a mannerly sort of bawling about a Man. Well: I find Fame and Glory won't tempt you, what then is there behind worth the having? To govern your Motions, and make Use of your *Being* according to the Intentions of Nature; this is the Design of Arts and Improvement, in other Cases; every Artificer and Profession endeavouring to make the Thing fit to answer the End for which it was intended. This, for instance, is the Design of Vine-dressers, those that manage Horses, and make Dogs; their Business is to make the most of things, and drive them up to the top of their Kind. And what other View has Learning and Education, but to improve the Faculties, and set them the right Way at work? 'Tis agreed then the main Point lies here: Compass but this, and let the World rub. What! Must your Inclinations always run Riot, and will you never keep them true to one thing? Must you be still hankering after this Fansy and t'other? Why then, let

[f] Because they do as it were dance Men upon Wires.

me

me tell you, you'll always be a Slave, always in Wants and Disquiet. This Temper will let loose abundance of uneasy Passions upon you: 'Twill make you grow envious, full of Jealousy and Suspicion, and apt to over-reach those who are possessed of something you have a mind to. And when strong Desires are unsatisfied, you'll find your self mightily disturb'd. And this will make you murmur, and grow mutinous against the Gods. But if you come once to pay a due Regard to your *Reason*; you'll be pleas'd with your self, serviceable to *Society*, and compliant with the Gods; that is, you'll be entirely satisfied with their Administration.

XVII. The Elements either press upwards, or tumble downwards, or else run round in a Circle: But Virtue has none of these Motions; she is of a nobler Kind: Her Progress in regular Thoughts is somewhat unintelligible, but always prosperous.

XVIII. What a strange Humour there is amongst some People? They don't care to afford a good Word to their Contemporaries, and yet are very desirous of being prais'd by Posterity: That is by those they never saw, nor ever will have the least Acquaintance with: Now this is almost such a Freak, as it would be to be disturbed, because you were not commended by the Generations that lived before you.

XIX. Because you find a Thing very difficult, don't presently conclude that no Man can master it. But whatever you observe proper and practicable by another, believe likewise within your own Power.

XX. If an *Antagonist* in the *Circus* tears our Flesh with his Nails, or tilts against us with his Head; we don't use to cry out Foul-play, nor

be offended at the rough Uſage, nor ſuſpect him afterwards as a dangerous Perſon in Converſation. 'Tis true, when we are at the *Exerciſe*, we guard and pary; but all this is done without raiſing ill Blood, or looking upon the Man as an Enemy. Let us act at this rate in the other Inſtances of Life: When we receive a Blow, let us not think our ſelves in a *Battle*, but at a Tryal of Skill. We may fence, as I ſaid before, and manage the Conteſt with Caution, but not with Malice, and Ill-will.

XXI. If any one can convince me of an Error, I ſhall be very glad to change my Opinion, for Truth is my Buſineſs; and right Information hurts no Body. No: He that continues in Ignorance and Miſtake, 'tis he that receives the Miſchief.

XXII. I'll do my Duty, that's enough. As for other Things, I ſhall ne'er be diſturb'd about them. For if they happen to come croſs, 'tis but conſidering that they are either without *Life*, or without *Reaſon*, or without *Judgment*, and thus I can eaſily paſs them over.

XXIII. As for Brute-Animals, and Things undignified with *Reaſon*, uſe them freely and boldly, as being of a ſuperiour Order your ſelf. But treat Men like *Beings* of your own Kind, and Members of the ſame *Society*. And in all your Affairs invoke the Gods for their Aſſiſtance. As for the Time you are to continue this Regularity; ne'er trouble your ſelf whether 'tis long or ſhort: For three Hours of Life thus well ſpent, will do your Buſineſs.

XXIV. *Alexander* the *Great* and his Groom, when dead, were both upon the ſame *Level*; and run the ſame Fortune of being either ſcatter-

ed

ed into *Atomes*, or abſorb'd in the *Soul* of the *Univerſe* g.

XXV. What abundance of Motions there are in the Body, what abundance of Thoughts and *Senſations* in the Mind at the ſame time? What a vaſt Number of Operations are performed, and how much Buſineſs is diſpatch'd within us in a ſingle Moment? He that conſiders this, won't wonder ſo much that infinitely more Productions ſhould ſtart out together in the Univerſe: Or that the *Soul of the World* ſhould by once exerting Himſelf look over, actuate, and govern the whole *Maſs* of *Matter*.

XXVI. Suppoſe you were aſk'd to ſpell *Antoninus*'s Name, would you hollow every Letter in the Company's Ears? Or would you return their Paſſion, if they were angry? I conceive you would rather go mildly to work, and give them the Letters and Syllables as they ſtand, without Noiſe. Apply this to greater Inſtances, and remember that all Duties in Morality, have ſuch a determinate Number of Parts and Circumſtances to render them compleat; theſe muſt be all taken care of, and perform'd in Order; but then it muſt be done ſmoothly, without growing hot upon meeting with Peeviſhneſs and Provocation.

XXVII. 'Tis a ſort of Cruelty to balk People's Fanſies, and not give them Leave to purſue what they reckon their Intereſt. And with this you are chargeable in ſome Meaſure your ſelf, when you are angry with thoſe that do amiſs. Why ſo? Becauſe they imagine they are carrying on their own Intereſt and Convenience. But that you'll ſay is their Miſtake. I grant it; but then 'tis

g See Book 4. Sect. 14.

your Part to lead them out on't, and to ſhew them their Error without Paſſion and Reſentment.

XXVIII. What is Death? 'Tis a reſting from *Senſation*, and Deſire. A ſtop upon the Rambling of *Thought*, and a Releaſe from the Drudgery about your Carcaſs.

XXIX. Keep up your Spirits for Buſineſs as long as your Conſtitution laſts; for it would be a ſhame if your Mind ſhould faulter, and give in, before your Body.

XXX. Have a Care you han't too much of an Emperour in you, and that you don't fall into the Liberties and Pride of your Predeceſſors? Theſe Humours are eaſily learn'd, therefore guard againſt the Infection. Be candid, ſincere, and modeſtly Grave. Let Juſtice and Piety have their Share in your Character; let your Temper be remarkable for Mildneſs and good Nature, and be always enterprizing and vigorous in your Buſineſs. And in ſhort ſtrive to be juſt ſuch a Man as Virtue and Philoſophy would make you? Worſhip the Gods and protect Mankind. This Life is ſhort, and all the Advantage you can get by it, is the Opportunities you have of adoring thoſe above [h], and doing good to thoſe below you. Do every thing like a Diſciple of *Antoninus* [i], imitate him in the Vigour and Conſtancy of his good Conduct, in the Equality, Sweetneſs and Piety of his Temper, the Serenity of his Aſpect, the Modeſty and Unpretendingneſs of his Behaviour, and the generous Ambition he had to be perfectly Maſter of his Buſineſs. Farther: 'Twas his Way, to diſmiſs nothing till he had

[h] The Gods. [i] The Author means the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, who was his adoptive Father.

look'd

look'd thro' it, and view'd it on all sides: To bear unreasonable Remonstrances without making a Return; never to be in a Hurry: To be backward in giving Encouragement to Informers: He was a great Judge of Men and Manners: But of no satyrical or reprimanding Humour: Not at all apt to be frighted, or surpriz'd: Not too suspicious, nor in the least over-run with Impertinence, and Conceit: Expence and Figure was none of his Fansy; as one might easily perceive, by his Palace, his Furniture, his Habit, his Eating, and his Attendance. Lenity was his Humour, and Fatiguing his Delight. He was so temperate in his Diet, that he was able to sit at the Council-Board till Night, without withdrawing into another Room; for the Necessities of Nature never return'd upon him till their usual Time. He was firm in his Friendship, and steddy and agreeable in the Manner of shewing it. He gave his Courtiers all the Freedom imaginable to contradict him; and was pleas'd with the Proposal of a better Expedient than his own. To conclude, he was a religious Prince, but on this side Superstition. Pray imitate these good Qualities of his, that you may have the Satisfaction of them at your last Hour.

XXXI. Rouse and recollect your self: And you'll perceive your Trouble lay only in a Scene of Imagination [k]: And when you are well awaken, turn the Tables, and carry the Contemplation thro' Life; and then the World in a Dream, and the World out on't, will appear muchwhat the same thing.

[k] The Emperour seems to have made this Reflection after a troublesome Dream.

XXXII. My Perſon conſiſts of Soul and Body: To this latter all Things are morally indifferent; the *Body* being in no Condition to make a Diſtinction of this kind. And as to my *Mind*, there's nothing can affect her in the Quality of Good or Evil, her own Actions excepted; now theſe are all within her Power: And of all her Actions ſhe is only concern'd with the *Preſent*; for what's *paſt* or to *come* ſignifies as much as nothing, and falls under no moral Character [1].

XXXIII. As long as the Hands and Feet do the Work they were made for, they move naturally, and with Eaſe: Thus while a Man performs the Functions of his *Species*, and keeps true to his Condition, he feels no more Weight than what Nature lays upon him. Now that which is not beſide the Intentions of Nature, can never be a real Misfortune.

XXXIV. What abundance of ſenſual Satisfaction have Thieves, Catamites, Parricides, and Uſurpers been poſſeſſed of? We may gueſs at the Quality of *Pleaſure*, by its falling to the Share of ſuch Wretches as theſe.

XXXV. Don't you obſerve among your Artificers, tho' they bear the Contradiction and Impertinence of the Unſkilful, yet they won't comply ſo far as to be talked out of their Knowledge, or work againſt the Rules of their Trade? And is it not a ſcandalous Buſineſs, that an Architect or a Phyſician ſhould have more Regard for their *Profeſſion*, than a *Man* has for his? For His, I ſay, in which he has the Honour of the Gods for his Partners. And what's a Man's Trade ſimply conſider'd as a Man? Why no-

[1] A kind of Paradox.

thing

thing but the Study and Practice of Virtue, and moral Philosophy.

XXXVI. The vast Continents of *Europe* and *Asia* are but Corners of the *Creation:* The Ocean is but a Drop, and Mount *Athos* but a Grain in respect of the *Universe:* And the present Instant of Time but a Point to the Extent of Eternity. These Things have all of them little, changeable, and transitory Beings: Remember likewise that all Things proceed from the *Soul of the Universe*, either by direct, or consequential Causality. Thus the growling Deformity of a Lyon; the Poyson of Serpents, Thorns and Dirt, and whatever seems coarse, or offensive in Nature, start out of something more noble, or belong to the Entireness of her beautiful Productions. [m] Don't therefore suppose them insignificant and unworthy the *Being* you worship, but consider the Fountain from whence all Things spring.

XXXVII. He that has taken a View of the *present* Age, has seen as much as if he had began with the World, and gone to the End on't; for all Things are of a Kind, and of a Colour [n].

XXXVIII. The mutual Dependance all Things have, and the Relation they stand in to each other, is worth your frequent Observation: For all the Parts of *Matter* are in some Measure linked together, and interwoven, and for this Reason have a natural Sympathy for each other. And thus *Motion* and the *Continuity* of *Matter*, makes one *Body* consequent, and connected to another [o].

XXXIX. Bring your *Will* to your *Fate*, and suit your Mind to your Circumstances. And

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[m] See Book 3. Sect. 2. Book 8. Sect. 50. [n] See Book 2. Sect. 14. Book 9. Sect. 35. [o] This Section seems to be levell'd against *Epicurus*'s Hypothesis of a *Vacuum*.

love those People heartily, that 'tis your Fortune to be engaged with.

XL. Those Tools and Utensils are said to be right, when they serve for the uses they were made; tho' in this Case the Artificer that made them is commonly absent. But in the Works of Nature, the *forming Power* is always present with the *Effect*, and deserves a particular Regard. From hence you are to conclude, that as long as you behave your self as this sovereign Power directs you, you'll have your Wishes in every Thing. Indeed 'tis this Bent of Inclination which makes the Gods happy, and gives Satisfaction to the *Soul* of the *Universe*.

XLI. If you suppose any thing which lies out of your Command, to be Good or Evil; your missing the one, or falling into the other, will unavoidably make you a Malecontent against the Gods, and put you upon hating those People whom you either know or suspect to be instrumental in your Misfortune. To be plain; our Mistake in this Supposition and pursuing Objects above our Reach, often makes us very unreasonable and unjust. But if we confine the Notion of Good and Evil to Things in our Power, then all the Motives to Complaint, and Ill-nature will drop off; then we shall neither remonstrate against Heaven, nor quarrel with any Mortal living.

XLII. All People concur in some Measure to the Purposes of Providence, tho' all are not sensible of it. And thus, as I remember, *Heraclitus* observes, that those who are asleep, may be said to help the World forward. In short, the grand Design is carried on by different Hands, and different Hearts too. For even he that complains, makes Head against his Fate, and strives to pull the

the Adminiſtration in Pieces, even ſuch a teſty Mortal as this, is uſeful in his Way [P]: Conſider then how you are ranged, and whether you have join'd the dutiful or the diſaffected Party. For he that governs the World, will certainly make you good for ſomething, and prove ſerviceable to his Scheme, one way or other. Have a Care you don't ſerve for a Foil or a Jeſt; and make ſuch a ridiculous Figure in Nature, as that *Doggril* did in the *Play Chryſippus* mentions.

XLIII. Every one ſhould keep to his Poſt, and be contented with the Aſſignments of Providence. The Sun never covets the Properties of a Shower, nor does one God interfere with another. Every thing is ſerviceable in his own Station; and unreſembling Cauſes unite to Advantage in the Effect. Are not the Stars different from each other? And yet their Influences agree together upon ſublunary Productions.

XLIV. If the Gods have decreed me any thing, they have decreed my Advantage: If not, they muſt either be miſtaken in their Meaſures, or unbenevolent in their Deſign. Now, as the firſt Part of this Suppoſition is abſurd, ſo the latter is incomprehenſible: For, to what Purpoſe ſhould they intend me any Harm? What would themſelves, or their *Univerſe* get by it? But granting they have made no particular Proviſion for me, yet ſince their Government of the World is not diſputed, the Conſequence will be much the ſame: For this Way my Affairs will be comprehended, and fall within the Compaſs of their general Providence, and why then ſhould I not be contented with whatever happens? To put the Caſe farther: Suppoſe the Gods take Care of nothing, which,

[P] See Book 9. Sect. 42.

by the Way, we must reckon a scandalous Opinion; or else 'twill be high Time to leave off the common Solemnities of Sacrificing, Prayers, and religious Swearing: If Things lie thus, why all this superstitious Trouble in these, and many other Instances? To what Purpose should we behave our selves as if we were in the very Court and Company of Heaven? However, since a Supposition implies nothing of Reality, let it pass for once: If the Gods therefore will take Care of none of us, 'tis certainly lawful for me to take Care of my self. Now 'tis my Right to state the Notion of my own Convenience; and what is that? Why, that's convenient for every one, which suits his Nature and his *Species:* Now my Nature has Reason, sociable Principles, and publick Inclination in't: By Consequence, the Interest of my Country must be my own. Take me then under the particular Distinction of *Antoninus*, and *Rome* is my Town and Countrey; but consider me as a Man in general, and I belong to the *Corporation* of the *World.* That therefore, and only that, which is serviceable to both these *Societies*, is an Advantage to me.

XLV. Whatever happens to Particulars, is serviceable to the *Universe*; that Thought might satisfy. But we can carry the Reasons for Acquiescence farther: For, upon Observation, you will perceive, that what is profitable to one Man, is in some measure for the *Interest* of the rest. And here I take the Word *Profit*, in the Sense of common Acceptation, and not in the Language of the *Stoicks* [9].

[9] The *Stoicks* esteem'd nothing profitable but Virtue and Honesty, though at the same Time they allow other Things to be useful.

XLVI. You

XLVI. You may remember at a *Play*, or such resembling Diversions, coming over and over with the same Thing tires the Sense, and extinguishes the Pleasure: Remove this Contemplation into Life; for here all Things come round, and bring the same Causes and Appearances along with them. How long then will it be before you are cloy'd with these Repetitions?

XLVII. Consider with your self, that People of all Conditions, Professions, and Countries, are forced to dye. Cast your Eyes upon what sort of Mortals you please, and you'll find them go the Way of all Flesh: And we must take our Turn too with the rest, and remove to the same Place whither so many famous Orators and Philosophers, Generals, Princes, and Heroes, have shewn us the Way. Those great Sages, *Heraclitus*, *Pythagoras*, and *Socrates*; those celebrated Mathematicians, *Eudoxus*, *Hipparchus*, and *Archimedes*, had no Privilege or Protection against Fate. Not to mention a great many other extraordinary Genius's, Persons of Industry, Reach, and Spirit; they are all gone: Even those *Buffoons*, who, like *Menippus*, were always flouting and sleering at Mankind, tho' they liv'd in Jest, they dy'd in Earnest. Remember they are all in their Graves; and where's the Harm of all this? Nay, what are those the worse for't, that have not so much as left their own Names behind them? In a Word, there's only one Thing here worth the minding, and that is, not to imitate the Degeneracy of Mortals, but to be True, Honest, and Good-natur'd, even amongst Knaves and Sharpers.

XLVIII. When you have a mind to divert your Fansy, consider the good Qualities of your Acquaintance; As, the enterprizing Vigour of this Man,

Man, the Modeſty of another, the Liberality of a Third, and ſo on. For there's nothing ſo entertaining as a lively Image of the Virtues and Advantages of thoſe we converſe with. Let ſuch an Idea therefore be always ready, and at hand.

XLIX. You are not angry becauſe you weigh ſo light in the Scale, and don't ride forty *Stone:* Why then ſhould you be diſſatisfied becauſe your Life is not drawn out to an unuſual and extraordinary Period? You ought to be no more *covetous* of Time, than you are of Bulk, but be contented with the common Allowance.

L. 'Tis good to try to bring People to a right Underſtanding of the Caſe, but if they grow troubleſome, be govern'd by your own Conſcience, and never aſk any body's Leave to be Honeſt. If there comes a Force upon you, and ſtops your Progreſs, diſengage, and be eaſy, and make a Virtue of Neceſſity. Remember that you undertook the Buſineſs upon the Condition of its being feaſible, and ne'er pretended to graſp at Impoſſibilities. What was it then you aim'd at? Why, to do your beſt, and ſecure your Reaſon: Right! And this may be effectually done, tho' the Enterprize ſhould happen to miſcarry.

LI. The ambitious Perſon lodges his Happineſs in the Fanſy of another: The Voluptuary admires at home, and keeps within the Reach of his Senſes; but a Man of Underſtanding depends upon himſelf, and makes Action, and not Appetite, his Pleaſure.

LII. We are at liberty not to miſinterpret any Accident, and by Conſequence may be free from Diſturbance: Things have no ſuch Power over Thoughts, as to make us of what Judgment they pleaſe.

LIII. Accuſtom

LIII. Accuſtom your ſelf to attend to what is diſcours'd; and, as far as you can, get into the Soul of him that ſpeaks.

LIV. That which is not for the Intereſt of the whole Swarm, is not for the Intereſt of a ſingle Bee.

LV. If the *Patient* rails at the Doctor, or the *Crew* at the Maſter of the Veſſel, who will they mind, or what Good is to be done upon them? Or, which Way can either Health, or a good Voyage be expected?

LVI. How many People that came into the World with me, are gone out of it already?

LVII. Honey taſtes bitter to ſuch as are troubled with an overflowing of the Gall; and People bitten by a mad Dog, are frighted at the Sight of Water: And on the other Hand, a little Ball is a curious Thing to a Child. This conſider'd, why ſhould you be angry with any one? Can you imagine that Error and Ignorance has leſs Force upon the Mind, than a little Gall or Venome upon the Body?

LVIII. As no body can rob you of the Privileges of your Nature, or force you to live counter to your Reaſon, ſo nothing can happen to you, but what comes from Providence, and conſiſts with the Intereſt of the *Univerſe* [r].

LIX. Conſider with your ſelf, what ſort of People your Men of Popularity muſt court, what ſcandalous Submiſſions they are obliged to, and what poor Returns they have for their Pains? And then how ſoon Death and Oblivion ſweep all before them.

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[r] See Book 5. Sect. 8.

BOOK VII.

I. WHAT is Vice and Wickedneſs? No Rarity you may depend on't. When you are in Danger of being ſhock'd, conſider that the Sight is nothing but what you have frequently ſeen already. To be brief, Men and Manners are generally muchwhat alike: All Ages and Hiſtories, Towns and Families, are of the ſame Complexion, and full of the ſame Stories: There's nothing new to be met with, but all Things are common, and quickly over.

II. Opinions, whether right or wrong, can never be pull'd out of your Head, unleſs the Grounds and Reaſons of them are firſt remov'd. 'Tis your Intereſt therefore to awaken your Memory, and refreſh thoſe Notions which are ſerviceable, and well examin'd. For the Purpoſe: You may ſay to your ſelf, 'tis in my Power to form a right Judgment upon the preſent Emergency; and why then ſhould I be diſturb'd at it? For nothing that does not enter my Mind, and get *within* me, can hurt me: Hold to this, and you are ſafe. Come, I'll tell you a Way, how you may live your Time over again: Do but recollect, and review what you have ſeen already, and the Work is done.

III. Gazing after Triumphs and Cavalcades; the Diverſions of the Stage; Farms well ſtock'd with Flocks and Herds; Conteſts for Victory in the Field: Theſe are the little Pleaſures and Concerns of Mortals. Would you have a farther Illuſtration, and ſee an Image of them elſewhere? Fanſy then that you ſaw two or three Whelps quarrelling about a Bone; Fiſhes ſcrambling for a Bait; Piſmires in a Peck of Troubles about the Carriage of a Grain of Wheat; Mice frighted

out

out of their Wits, and ſcouring croſs the Room; Poppets dancing upon a Wire, &c. And after all, tho' human Life is but ordinary and trifling, a wiſe Man muſt be Eaſy and Good-humour'd, and not grow Splenetick or Haughty upon the Contemplation: Remembring, notwithſtanding, that the true Bulk and Bigneſs of a Man, is to be meaſur'd by the Size of his Buſineſs, and the Quality of his Inclinations.

IV. Don't let either Diſcourſe or Action paſs unobſerv'd; attend to the Senſe and Signification of the one, and to the Tendency and Deſign of the other.

V. Am I ſufficiently qualify'd for this Buſineſs, or not? If I am, I'll make uſe of my Talent, as given me by Heaven for that Purpoſe. If I am not, I'll either let it alone, and reſign it to a better Capacity, or elſe I'll do what I can, I'll give my Advice, and put the executing Part into an abler Hand; and thus, by looking out for Help, the Juncture may be nick'd, and the general Intereſt ſecur'd: For whatſoever I act either by my ſelf, or in *Conjunction* with another, I am always to aim at the Advantage of the *Community*.

VI. How many famous Men are dropt out of Hiſtory, and forgotten? And how many Poets and Panegyriſts, that promiſed to keep up other Peoples *Names*, have loſt their own?

VII. Never be aſham'd of Aſſiſtance: Like a Centinel, at the ſtorming of a Town, your Buſineſs is to maintain your Poſt, and execute your Orders. Now, ſuppoſe you happen to be Lame at an Aſſault, and can't mount the Breach upon your own Feet, won't you ſuffer your Comrade to help you?

VIII. Be not diſturb'd about the future; for if ever you come to it, you'll have the ſame Rea-

ſon for your Guide and Protection, which preſerves you at preſent.

IX. All Parts of the *Univerſe* are interwoven and ty'd together; and no one Thing is foreign or unrelated to another: This general Connection gives Unity and Ornament to the World. For the World, take it altogether, is but one: There's but one ſort of *Matter* to make it of, one God to govern it, and one Law to guide it: For, run through the whole *Syſtem* of rational Beings, and you'll find Reaſon and Truth is but ſingle and the ſame. And thus Beings of the ſame Kind, and endued with the ſame Reaſon, are made happy by the ſame Exerciſes of it.

X. All Compoſitions of *Matter* fly off apace to the common Stock and Receptacle: Spirits are quickly ſwallow'd up in the Soul of the *Univerſe* [f], and ſo is *Memory* and *Fame* in the Gulph of Time.

XI. With rational Beings, Nature and Reaſon is the ſame Thing. By Conſequence, to act according to the one, muſt be to act according to the other.

XII. Either ſtand upright upon your own Legs, or let another ſupport you.

XIII. Does Continuity and Connexion create Sympathy and Relation in the Parts of the Body? Why, Reſemblance, and as one may ſay, Conſanguinity of Nature does the ſame Thing among rational Beings; for though they are not tack'd together by Extenſion and Union of Place, they ſeem all made to co-operate with each other. This Thought will be more intelligible and affecting, if you frequently conſider your ſelf as a *Member* of the *rational Syſtem*; but if you reckon your ſelf

[f] See Book 4. Sect. 14.

only a *Part*, this Relation will prove too weak for a Principle of Action: This remoter Notion won't cheriſh good Nature enough, nor carry it to a juſt Improvement: You won't love Mankind ſo heartily as you ſhould do: Under this Perſuaſion, a generous Action will ne'er delight and regale you: You'll do a good Office meerly for Faſhion and Decency, but not as if it was really a Kindneſs to your ſelf.

XIV. Let Accidents happen to ſuch as are liable to the Impreſſion, and thoſe that feel Misfortune, may complain of it if they pleaſe: As for me, let what will come, I can receive no Damage by it, unleſs I think it a Calamity; and 'tis in my Power to think it none, if I have a mind to it.

XV. Let Peoples Tongues and Actions be what they will, my Buſineſs is to keep my Road, and be honeſt; and make the ſame Speech to my ſelf, that a Piece of Gold, or an Emerald ſhould, if they had Senſe and Language: Let the World talk and take their Method, I ſhan't mind it, but ſparkle and ſhine on, and be true to my *Species* and my *Colour*.

XVI. Does not the Mind give the Man the Diſturbance? Does ſhe not bring Fears, and Fits of the Spleen upon her ſelf? Let any other Body try to diſquiet her if they can; when they have done their worſt, 'tis in her Power to prevent the Impreſſion: And as for this ſmall *Carcaſs*, let it complain, and feel, and be frighted, if it know how. 'Tis true, the Soul is the Seat and Principle of Thought, and by Conſequence, of Paſſion and Pain; however, this paſſive Capacity will do no Harm, unleſs you throw her into Fanſies and Fears about it [t]: For the Mind is in her own Na-

[t] The old *Stoical* Paradox.

ture

ture self-sufficient, and must create her Wants before she can feel them [v]. This Privilege makes her impregnable, and above Restraint, unless she teazes, and puts Fetters upon her self.

XVII. What is Happiness but wise Thinking, or a Mind rightly dispos'd? Why then does Fansy [w] break in and disturb the Scene? Be gone! I'll have nothing to do with the Impostures of Imagination! However, since they have Custom to plead in their Excuse, let them withdraw, and I'll forgive them.

XVIII. Is any one afraid of Dissolution and Change? I would gladly know what can be done without it? If the Course of *Nature*, and the Method of the *Universe*, won't reconcile us to the Expectation, we are somewhat unreasonable: Pray, must not your Wood be turn'd into a Coal, before your Bath can be ready for you? Must not your Meat be *changed* in your Stomach, to make it fit to nourish you? Indeed, what Part of Life or Convenience can go forward without Alteration? Now, in all likelyhood, a Revolution in your Carcass and Condition may be as serviceable to the *World* in general, as those Alterations above-mention'd are to you.

XIX. All particular *Bodies* are quickly dissolved and hurried through the *universal Mass*, where, at last, they incorporate, grow serviceable, and become a sort of Limbs to the *World*. How many such eminent Sages, as *Chrysippus*, *Socrates*, and *Epictetus*, have sunk in the Gulph of Time? And the same Reflection will hold good concerning any other Person or Thing whatsoever.

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[v] A *Stoical* Piece of Vanity. [w] That is a vulgar Opinion concerning Good and Evil: Now, all People are the Vulgar with the *Stoicks*, except themselves.

XX. I am

XX. I am only ſolicitous about one Thing; and that is, leſt I ſhould not act up to the Nature and Dignity of a Man; leſt I ſhould fail in ſome of the Circumſtances of my Duty, and miſmanage either in the Matter, Manner, or Time of doing it.

XXI. 'Twill not be long before you will have forgotten all the World; and in a little Time, to be even, all the World will forget you too.

XXII. 'Tis the Privilege of Human Nature, above *Brutes*, to love thoſe that diſoblige us; to practiſe with Eaſe and Inclination, you muſt conſider, that the offending Party is of Kin to you; that Ignorance is the Cauſe of the Miſbehaviour; that the Will and the Fault ſeldom go together [x]; that you'll both of you quickly be in your Graves; but eſpecially conſider that you have receiv'd no Harm by the Injury: For if your Reaſon is untouch'd, and your Mind ne'er the worſe, there can be no Damages done.

XXIII. God, or the Spirit of Nature, works the Maſs of *Matter* like Wax. Now, for the Purpoſe, 'tis a Horſe; ſoon after you'll have it melted down, and run into the Figure of a Tree; and from this Form 'tis poſſible it may remove into the Fleſh and Bones of a Man, or what you pleaſe; and 'tis but a little while that 'tis fixt in one *Species*. Now, a Trunk feels no more Pain by being knock'd in pieces, than when it was firſt put together [y].

XXIV. A ſour gruff Look is very unnatural, and to put it on often, will make it ſettle, and deſtroy the Beauty and Pleaſantneſs of the Aſpect to

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[x] See this Paradox farther explain'd, Sect. 3. [y] This Similitude is brought to inſinuate the Mind's Independence on the Body, which is all Paradox.

that Degree, that 'tis never to be recover'd; from whence you may conclude it a fooliſh Cuſtom.

XXV. 'Tis high Time for thoſe People to dye, that have out-liv'd the Senſe of their own Miſdemeanours.

XXVI. That *Being* which governs Nature, will quickly change the preſent Face on't: One Thing will be made out of another, by frequent Revolutions; and thus the World will be always coming new out of the Mint.

XXVII. When any one miſbehaves himſelf towards you, immediately bethink your ſelf what Notions he has concerning Advantage and Diſadvantage: When you have found out this, you'll pity him, and neither be angry, nor ſurpriſed at the Matter. It may be, upon Enquiry, you may find your Opinions upon theſe Points much the ſame, and then you ought to pardon him; for you would have done the ſame Thing your ſelf, upon the ſame Occaſion: But if your Notions of *Good* and *Evil* are different, and more juſt than his, then your Paſſion will yield to your good Nature, and you'll eaſily bear with his Ignorance.

XXVIII. Don't let your Head run upon that which which is none of your own: But pick out ſome of the beſt of your Circumſtances, and conſider how eagerly you would wiſh for them, were they not in your Poſſeſſion; but then you muſt take Care to keep your Satisfaction within Compaſs, for fear it ſhould carry you too far, make you overvalue the Object, and be diſturb'd at the Loſs of it.

XXIX. Fortify at home, and rely upon your ſelf; for a rational Mind is born to the Privilege of Independence: Honeſty, and the inward Quiet conſequent to it, is enough in all Conſcience to make you happy.

XXX. Rub

XXX. Rub out the Colours of *Imagination* [z]; don't ſuffer your Paſſions to make a *Machine* of you; confine your Care to the preſent [a]; look through the Quality, and preſs into the Nature of that which happens either to your ſelf or another: Diſtinguiſh the Parts of your Subject, and divide them into *Matter* and *Form*, and into *Body* and *Spirit* [b], when they have them: Think upon your laſt Hour, and don't trouble your ſelf about other Peoples Faults, but leave them with thoſe that muſt anſwer for them.

XXXI. When you hear a Diſcourſe, make your Underſtanding keep Pace with it, and reach as far as you can into thoſe Things which fall under your Obſervation.

XXXII. Would you ſet off your Perſon, and recommend your ſelf? Let it be done by Simplicity and Candour, by Modeſty of Behaviour, and by Indifference to external Advantages: Love Mankind, and reſign to Providence; for as the Poet obſerves, *All Things are under Law and ſuperiour Direction.* And what if the Elements only had their Courſe chalk'd out, and their Motions preſcrib'd them? But we may carry the Concluſion farther: For there are, at the moſt, but very few Things in the World perfectly turn'd over to Chance and Liberty.

XXXIII. Let Death make *Atomes* or *Vacuum* of me, or what you pleaſe, 'twill come to this Upſhot at laſt; 'twill either extinguiſh my *Being*, or tranſlate me to another *State*.

XXXIV. As for Pain, if 'tis intolerable, the Extremity will deſtroy it ſelf, and quickly diſpatch you: If it ſtays long, you'll be big enough to

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[z] See Sect. 17. [a] See Book 3. Sect. 12. & alib. [b] See Book 4. Sect. 21.

grapple with it. Your Mind, in the mean Time, will save her self by the Strength of Thought, keep undisturb'd, and suffer nothing [c]. And for your Limbs that lie under the Execution, if they can complain, and make out any thing let them do it.

XXXV. To moderate your Ambition about Fame, consider the Generality of the People that are to commend, and take notice of you; how insignificant they are, and how little in their Pursuits and Aversions? Consider also that as one Heap of Sand thrown upon another covers the first, so it happens in the Business of Fame, a new Glory eclipses an old one; and the latter Age is a sort of an Extinguisher to the former.

XXXVI. A saying of *Plato* [d]. "He that has "raised his Mind to a due Pitch of Greatness, "that has look'd through the World, from one "End to the other, and carried his View through "the whole Extent of *Matter* and Time, do you "imagine such a one will think human Life any "great Business? Not at all, (says t'other Man "in the Dialogue:) what then? Will the Fear "of Death afflict him? Far from it.

XXXVII. There's a great deal of Truth in that Sentence of *Antisthenes*. "That 'tis the Fate "of Princes to be ill spoken of for their good Deeds.

XXXVIII. 'Tis a shame that a Man should not be Master of his Mind, as well as of his Countenance. That his *Will* should be stronger for his Looks than for his Thoughts; prescribe what Air he pleases to the first, and let the other lie mutinous, and ungovernable.

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[c] The old Paradox. [d] Plat. De Repub. Lib. 6.

XXXIX. *'Tis*

XXXIX. *'Tis to no Purpose to fall out with Accidents, and Things, for they don't care a Farthing for't* [e].

XL. Manage your self with that Advantage, *that I, and the Gods too, may have Pleasure and Satisfaction in your Conduct* [f].

XLI. *Fate mows down Life like Corn, this Mortal falls, and t'other stands a while* [g].

XLII. *Is my Family struck out of Providence, and do the Gods forget me? If it be so, they have reason for their Neglect.*

XLIII. *Virtue and Happiness is a Present I can make my self.*

XLIV. *Not* [h] *too much Sympathy with other Peoples Sorrow; and keep* your Passions from all kinds of Transport, and Excess.

XLV. More of *Plato*'s Sentences [i]. "To such "a one I should return this very reasonable An- "swer. Hark ye Friend, you are mightily out, "if you think a Man that's good for any thing, is "either afraid of living, or dying. No: His Con- "cern is only to bring his Actions to the Test, "to secure his Practice, and stand clear of Kna- "very, and Misbehaviour.

XLVI. *Plato* again [k]; "Gentlemen, in my "Opinion, when a Man is satisfied with his "own Choice, or put into a Post by his Supe- "riours, his Business is to stand Buff against "Danger and Death, and fear nothing but Dis- "grace and Cowardice.

XLVII. *Plato* once more [l]. "With your Fa- "vour, Sir, 'tis not always the Part of Virtue

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[e] Eurip. Belleroph: Here the Emperour transcrib'd some Sentences of the Poets into his Common-place Book. [f] This Advice seems intended for his Son *Commodus*. [g] Eurip. Hypsip. l. [h] Aristoph. Acham. [i] Plato Apolog. [k] Apolog. [l] Plato Gorgias.

" and Bravery, to preſerve either your own " Life, or your Neighbours. He that's a Man " in good earneſt, muſt not be ſo mean as to " whine for Life, and graſp intemperately at old " Age: Let him leave this Point to Providence. " The Women in the *Nurſery* can tell him; that " we muſt go, when our Time is come. His " Duty is to conſider how he may make the " moſt of his Life, and ſpend what there is to " the beſt Advantage.

XLVIII. Let the Tranſmutation and Shuffling of the Elements be frequently the Subjects of your Meditation: Conſider the Courſe of the Stars as if you were driving through the Sky, and kept them Company. Such Contemplations as theſe brighten the Soul, and ſcour off the Ruſt contracted by converſing here below.

XLIX. 'Tis a handſome Saying, that of *Plato*'s: " That when we conſider the State and Con- " dition of Mankind, we ſhould place our Imagi- " nation upon ſome lofty Pyramid, or *Obſerva-* " *toire*; and from thence take a Proſpect of the " World, and look it over as it were at one " View. Here we may ſee how Mortals are drawn " up into Towns and Armies in one Place, and " diſpers'd for Huſbandry in another! Here are " abundance of Things to be ſeen together, Mar- " riage and Confederacy treated by Nations and " Families, Births and Burials, Feaſting and Jol- " lity at one Houſe, and all in Tears at another. " Here they are in a mighty Hurry at the Bar, " and there up to the Ears in Trading and " Merchandize. Towards the End of the Pro- " ſpect, it may be you may ſee a great deal of " barren and unhabitable Wilderneſs, with Va- " riety of barbarous People beyond it. Take " it altogether, 'tis a ſtrange Medley of Buſi-

" neſs,

" neſs, Humour, and Condition; and yet if you " conſider it thoroughly, you will find the Di- " verſity and Diſagreement of the Parts contri- " bute to the Beauty of the whole.

L. By looking back into Hiſtory, and conſidering the Fate and Revolutions of *Government*, you will be able to draw a Gueſs, and almoſt prophecy upon the future. For Things *Paſt*, *Preſent*, and to *Come*, are ſtrangely uniform, and of a Colour; and are commonly caſt in the ſame Mould. So that upon the Matter, forty Years of human Life may ſerve for a Sample of ten thouſand.

LI. *What's ſprung from Earth, diſſolves to Earth again, and Heaven-born Things fly to their native Seat* [m].

If the Matter does not ſtand thus, either the *Atomes* will be untwiſted, or the Elements ſcatter'd into inſenſibility.

LII. *We feed our ſelves up for long Life with a great deal of Care and Expence; but alas! Fate will find us out, and when the Gods give the Sign, we muſt embark, tho' never ſo unwilling* [n].

LIII. Can another Man ride, or fence better than you? It may be ſo. But tho' you may fall ſhort in your *Exerciſes*, let no Body out-do you in Virtue and Behaviour. Let no Body be more liberal and modeſt, more reſign'd, and forgiving than your ſelf.

LIV. As long as a Man can make uſe of his Reaſon, and act in concert with the Gods, he needs not queſtion the Event. There can be no Grounds to ſuſpect Misfortune, provided you ſtick cloſe to Nature, and manage within the Character of your Condition.

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[m] Eurip. Chryſip. [n] Eurip.

LV. 'Tis always and every where in your Power, to resign to the Gods, to be just to Mankind; and to examine every Object with that Nicety, as never to be impos'd on.

LVI. Ne'er make any rambling Enquiries after other Peoples Thoughts, but look directly at the Mark which Nature has set you. Nature I say, either that of the *Universe* [o], or your own: The first leads you to Submission to Providence; the latter to act as becomes you. Now that which is suitable to the Frame and Constitution of Things, is what becomes them. To be more particular: The rest of the World is design'd for the Service of rational Beings, in Consequence of this general Appointment, by which the lower Order of Things are made for the use of the more noble: And rational Creatures, standing all upon a Level, are design'd for the Advantage of each other. Now a beneficent and sociable Temper is that which human Nature was principally intended for; the next Thing design'd in our Being, is to be proof against corporeal Impressions. It being the peculiar Privilege of Reason to move within her self, to fortify against an Assault, and not suffer *Sensation*, or *Passion*, to break in upon her; for these are both of *Animal*, and inferiour Quality: But the *Understanding Part* claims a Right to govern, and won't bend to *Matter*, and *Appetite*. And good Reason for't, since she was born to command and make use of them. The third main Requisite in a rational Being is to secure the *Assent* from Rashness and Mistake. Let your Mind but compass these Points, and stick to them, and then she is Mistress of every thing which belongs to her.

[o] The Nature of the *Universe* is God in the Language of the *Stoicks*.

LVII. We

LVII. We ought to ſpend the Remainder of our Life, as if 'twas more than we expected, and lent us on purpoſe for wiſer Management.

LVIII. Let your Fate be your Inclination, for there's nothing more reaſonable and prudential.

LIX. When any Accident happens, call to Mind thoſe who have formerly been under the ſame Circumſtances, how full of Surprize, Complaint, and Trouble they were about the Matter: And where are they now? They are gone, their murmuring could not make them Immortal. To what Purpoſe ſhould you imitate their Behaviour: Can't you leave foreign Humours and Things, to their own Miſmanagement and Biaſs? Your Buſineſs is only to mind your Conduct, and give a Turn of Advantage to the Emergency. Now you may be the better for the Misfortune, if you will but take Care, and do nothing but what is warrantable. Always remembring, that Accidents are indifferent in themſelves, and only good, or bad for us, accordingly as we uſe them.

LX. Look inwards, and turn over your ſelf; for you have a laſting Mine of Happineſs at home, if you will but dig for't.

LXI. Take Care that your Motions and Geſtures may be grave, and compos'd: For the ſame Air of Senſe and Decency, which the Mind can put into the Face, ought to be viſible through the whole Body: But then all this muſt be done without the leaſt Affectation.

LXII. The right Knack of Living reſembles Wreſtling more than Dancing: For here a Man does not know his Movement and his Meaſures beforehand: No, he is oblig'd to ſtand ſtrong againſt Chance, and ſecure himſelf as Occaſion ſhall offer.

LXIII. Well!

LXIII. Well! It seems you desire to be commended: But what sort of People are they that must do you this Kindness, and how are their Understandings furnish'd? Truly if you do but consider the Size of their Sense, and the Disorder of their Passions, you'll pity their ignorant Misbehaviour, and not care a Rush for their Approbation.

LXIV. 'Tis a Saying of *Plato*'s [p], that *no Body misses the Truth by their Good-will.* The same may be said with reference to Honesty, Sobriety, Good Nature, and the like: Be particularly careful to remember this Hint, for 'twill help to sweeten your Temper.

LXV. When you lie under any corporal Affliction, let this Lenitive be at hand to relieve you: That there is no Scandal in Pain, that the sovereign Part of your Mind is ne'er the worse for't. For how can she suffer unless her Essence or her Benevolence were impair'd? Besides, *Epicurus*'s Maxim will help to support you under most Pains; for as he observes, they *will either be tolerable, or quickly over.* But then you must keep your Notions tight, and not run into the common Opinion about them [q]. And here you must remember, that there are many more *Sensations* than we are aware of, which belong to the Nature of Pain. Such as nodding, when one would be awake, broiling in the Heat of the Sun, and nauseating some part of our Diet. Now when you find your self fret and grow disturb'd at these Things, take notice that you are catch'd napping, and that *Pain* has gotten the better of you.

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[p] *Plato* charges Ignorance and Vice upon the Misfortunes of Constitution or Education, *Plato's Timæus.* [q] See Book 8. Sect. 49.

LXVI.

LXVI. Don't return the Temper of Ill-natur'd People upon themſelves, nor treat them as they do the reſt of Mankind.

LXVII. Which way are we to conclude that *Socrates* was a better Man in Virtue and Temper than *Telauges* [r]. To make out this, 'tis not enough to ſay, that he diſputed better, and died bolder. The Auſterity and Diſcipline of his Life; his Bravery in ſlighting the Orders of the *thirty Tyrants*, and refuſing to apprehend an innocent [s] Perſon; the Gravity and Greatneſs in his Mien and Motion, (tho' the Truth of this laſt Particular may be queſtion'd;) all this Glitter won't make the Character ſhine out: To prove the Point, we muſt examine what ſort of Soul *Socrates* carried about him: Could he be contented with the Conſcience of an honeſt and a pious Man? Did he not fret and fume to no purpoſe at the Knavery and Wickedneſs of the Age? Was he govern'd by no Bodies Ignorance? Did he never queſtion the Equity of Providence, grow ſurpriz'd at his hard Fortune, and ſink under the Weight of it? To conclude, did he keep Pain and Pleaſure at a due Diſtance, and not dip his Soul too deep in his Senſes? Theſe Marks are the only Teſt of a great Man; and 'tis to no Purpoſe to pretend to that Character without them.

LXVIII. Nature has not wrought your Compoſition ſo cloſe, as to deſtroy the Properties of *Matter* and *Spirit*: No, the Mind is in a Condition to diſtinguiſh her Faculties, to ſet out her Juriſdiction, and do her own Buſineſs her ſelf. And now I think on't, lodge this always in your

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[r] A Philoſoper of ſlander Character. [s] One *Salominius*, a Man of Fortune.

Memory;

Memory; that a Man may be a firſt Rate in Virtue, and true Value, and yet be very obſcure at the ſame Time. You may likewiſe obſerve, that Happineſs lies in a little Room: Granting your Talent won't reach very far into *Logick* and *Natural Philoſophy*. This can't hinder the Freedom and Greatneſs of your Mind, nor deprive you of the Bleſſings of Sobriety, Beneficence, and Reſignation.

LXIX. You may live with all the Freedom and Satisfaction imaginable, tho' the whole World ſhould bawl againſt you, and cry you down; nay, tho' a Brace of Lions ſhould quarter upon your Carcaſs, and tear you Limb from Limb. For pray how can any thing of this reach up to your Mind, and ruffle her Serenity [t]? How can it prevent your paſſing a right Judgment upon your Circumſtances, and making the beſt uſe of them? And thus your Reaſon may repel the Attack, and argue thus againſt the Object of Terror. "Look ye! You are not ſo fierce as "you are painted; Nature has made you one "Thing, and common Miſtake another. To be "plain, I expected to engage you, and now you "are come, I'll turn you to ſome Account or "other. For 'tis my Way, to make every "Thing ſerve for ſomething". In ſhort, you may work any Accident into an Inſtance of Virtue; into a Performance of ſome Duty, either to God, or Man: By Conſequence we need not be ſurpriz'd, or over-ſet by any Rencounter. For to take things rightly, there's nothing new in them, or difficult to deal with.

LXX. He that's come to the top of Wiſdom and Practice, ſpends every Day as if it were his

[t] The old Paradox.

laſt; and is never guilty of over-driving, Sluggiſhneſs, or Inſincerity.

LXXI. Tho' the Gods are immortal, and have their Patience tried through ſo many Ages, yet they not only bear with a wicked World, but provide liberally for it into the Bargain: And are you that are juſt going off the Stage ſick of the Company? Are you tired with ill Men already, and yet one of thoſe unhappy Mortals your ſelf?

LXXII. 'Tis great Folly to run from other Peoples Faults, and not part with your own: This is going quite the wrong Way to work, graſping at a Project impracticable, and loſing an Advantage which lies in your Power.

LXXIII. Whatever Buſineſs tends neither to the Improvement of your Reaſon, nor the Benefit of Society, conclude it beneath you, and manage accordingly.

LXXIV. When you have done a Kindneſs, and your Neighbour is the better for't, what need you be ſo ignorant, as to look any farther, and lie gaping for Reputation and Requital?

LXXV. No Body is ever tired with Favours, and Advantages: Now to act in Conformity to the Laws of Nature and Reaſon, is certainly an Advantage? Don't you therefore grow weary of doing good Offices, for by obliging others, you are really kind to your ſelf

LXXVI. There was a Time when God and Nature was employed in making the World: So that *Now* all Events muſt either be Conſequences of Decree, and reſult from the firſt Meaſures; or elſe the *Soul of the Univerſe* [v] fail'd in the Execution of her principal Deſign. Now the Ab-

[v] God.

ſurdity,

ſurdity of this latter Suppoſition, will go a great Way towards the making a Man eaſy.

BOOK III.

I. TO keep you modeſt, and mortified to vain Glory, remember that it has not been your good Fortune to ſpend your Life wholly in the Purſuit of Virtue and Wiſdom: Your Friends and your ſelf too are ſufficiently acquainted how much you fall ſhort of *Philoſophy:* And tho' Merit and Character are ſometimes parted, yet the bare Report of being a Philoſopher, is no eaſy Matter for you to compaſs: You are unqualified by your *Station*, and too much embarraſs'd for this Privilege. However, ſince you know how to come at the Thing, ne'er be concern'd about miſſing the Credit on't. Be ſatisfied therefore, and for the reſt of your Life, let your own rational Nature direct you. Mind then what ſhe would be at, and let nothing foreign diſturb you. You are very ſenſible how much you have rambled after Happineſs, and fail'd. Neither Learning, nor Wealth, nor Fame, nor Pleaſure could ever help you to it. Which way is it to be had then? By acting up to the Height of human Nature. And how ſhall a Man do this? Why by getting a right Set of Principles for Thoughts and Practice. And what Principles are thoſe? Such as ſtate and diſtinguiſh Good and Evil. Such as give us to underſtand, that there is nothing properly good for a Man, but what promotes the Virtues of Juſtice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Benevolence; nor any thing bad for him, but that which carries him off to the contrary Vices.

II. At

II. At every Action and Enterprize, ask your self this Question; what will the Consequence of this be to me? Am I not likely to repent of it? I shall be dead in a little Time, and then all's over with me. If the present Undertaking is but suitable to an intelligent and sociable *Being*, and one that has the Honour to live by the same Rule, and Reason with God himself; if the Case stands thus, all's well, and to what Purpose should you look any farther?

III. *Alexander*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Pompey*, what were they in Comparison of *Diogenes*, *Heraclitus*, and *Socrates*? These Philosophers look'd through *Cause*, *Matter*, and Consequence, and understood the Nature and Use of Things. This was noble Furniture for a Man's Head and Happiness: But as for those great Princes, what a Load of Cares were they pester'd with, and how much Slaves to their Ambition?

IV. Ne'er disturb your self, for People will be untoward, and play the same Pranks over again, tho' you should fret your heart out.

V. In the first Place, keep your self easy, for all Things are govern'd by the Laws, and Order of Providence: Besides, you'll quickly go the Way of all Flesh, as *Augustus*, *Adrian*, and the rest of the Emperours have done before you. Farther, examine the Matter to the Bottom, and remember, that the Top of your Business is to be a good Man: Therefore whatever the Dignity of human Nature requires of you, set about it presently, without Ifs or Ands: And speak always according to your Conscience, but let it be done in the Terms of Good-nature and Civility.

VI. 'Tis the Method of *Providence*, to change the Face of Things, and remove Fortune and Success from one Place to another. All Conditions

are subject to Revolution; so that you need not be afraid of unusual Treatment. For you stand upon no worse Ground than the rest of the World; and will only have your share of the common Fate.

VII. Every Being is at ease, when the Powers of it move regularly, and without Interruption. Now a rational Being is in this prosperous Condition, when her Judgment is gain'd by nothing but Truth, and Evidence; when her Designs are all meant for the Advantage of *Society*. When her Desires and Aversions are confin'd to Objects within her Power; when she rests satisfied with the Distributions of Providence: For which she has great Reason; in regard she is part of it her self[w]; and with as much Propriety as a Leaf belongs to the Nature of the Tree which bears it: Only with this Difference, that a Leaf is Part of Nature, without Sense or Reason, and liable to be check'd in its Operations; whereas a Man is a Limb, as it were, of an intelligent, righteous, and irresistible Being. A Being, that is all Wisdom, and assigns *Matter* and *Form*, Time, Force, and Fortune to every thing in due Measure and Proportion. And this you'll easily perceive, if you don't stop short in your Speculation, and make a lame Enquiry; but compare the whole of one thing, with the whole of another.

VIII. You have no Leisure to read Books, what then? You have Leisure not to be haughty, or play the Knave. 'Tis in your Power to be superiour to your Senses, and paramount over Pleasure and Pain. To be deaf to the Charms of Ambition, and look down upon Fame and Glory. 'Tis in your Power not only to forbear being

[w] The *Stoicks* believ'd the Soul a Part of God.

angry

angry with People for their Folly and Ingratitude, but over and above to cherish their Interest, and take Care of them.

IX. Never censure a Court Life, nor seem dissatisfied with your own.

X. Repentance is a Reproof of a Man's Conscience for the Neglect of some Advantages. Now whatever is morally good is Profitable, and ought to be the Concern of a Man of Probity: But no good Man was ever inwardly troubled for the Omission of any Pleasure, or the balking of his Senses: From whence it follows, that Pleasure, strictly speaking, is neither profitable nor good.

XI. To go to the Bottom of a Thing, these Questions should be answered, What is it in its proper Nature and Distinction? Of what sort of *Matter* and *Form* does it consist? What Share of Force and Action has it in the World? And how long is it likely to stay there?

XII. When you find your self sleepy in a Morning, remember that Business, and doing Service to the World, is to act up to Nature, and live like a Man: Whereas sleeping does but degrade you for the Time, and bring you down to a Beast. Now those Actions which fall in with the Design and Properties of Nature are more suitable and serviceable, and upon a Custom more pleasant than others.

XIII. Upon every new *Idea*, let it be your constant Custom to make Use of your Talent in *Physicks*, *Metaphysicks*, and *Morality*, and examine the Object in the respective Enquiries of those Sciences.

XIV. When you are about to converse with any Person, make this short Speech to your self. How does this Man's Definitions stand affected? What Notions has he about *Good* and *Evil?*

vil? Nay if his Understanding is so misled, if he has such unfortunate Opinions concerning Pleasure and Pain, and the Causes of them; if his Fansy or his Fears are misapplied, or over proportion'd with respect to Reputation or Ignominy, to Life or Death; if the Case stands thus with him, I don't wonder at his Practice; for indeed tis next to impossible he should do otherwise.

XV. Would it not be an odd Instance of Surprize to stare at a Fig-tree for bearing Figs? Why then should it seem strange to us, for the World to act like it self, and produce things pursuant to Quality and Kind? This is just as foolish as it would be for a Physician to wonder at a Fever, or a Master of a Vessel at a cross Blast of Wind.

XVI. To retract or mend a Fault at the Admonition of a Friend hurts your Credit or Liberty, no more than if you had grown wiser upon your own Thought. For 'tis still your own Judgment and Temper, which makes you see your Mistake and willing to retrieve it.

XVII. If what is done displeases you, why do you do it, if 'tis in your Power to let it alone? But if you can't help it, who do you complain of? The *Atomes*, or the *Gods* [x]? Either Way is Distraction, and therefore we must murmur against nothing. If you can mend the Matter, go about it; if you cannot, what are you the better for Grumbling? Now a Man should never do any thing to no Purpose.

XVIII. Whatever drops out of Life, is catcht up somewhere, for the World loses nothing [y]. Within this Circumference of *Corporeity*, all Things

[x] That is *Chance* or *Providence*, for the World must be govern'd by one of them. [y] That is nothing is Annihilated.

have their several *Forms* and Revolutions; and here 'tis likewise that they return into *Element* and first Principle; under which Notion those of the World and your own are the very same [z]; and all these last Changes are made without the least repining: And why then should the same *Matter* that lies quiet in an *Element* grumble in a *Man?*

XIX. *Providence* does not grant Force and Faculties at Random, but every thing is made for some End: The Sun, as high as 'tis, has its Business assign'd, and so have the celestial Deities [a]: And where's the Wonder of all this? But pray what were you made for? For your Pleasure? Common Sense won't bear so scandalous an Answer.

XX. Nature [b] pre-ordains the End of every thing, no less than its Beginning and Continuance: As he that strikes a Ball, designs whither it should go, as well as *which Way:* And what's the Ball the better all this while for mounting, or the worse for flying lower, and coming to the Ground? What does a Bubble get in the swelling, or lose in the breaking? The same may be said of a Candle, which is every jot as happy out as burning.

XXI. Turn your Carcass the wrong side outwards, and be proud if you can; and to improve your Thought, consider what a Beauty, Age, Diseases, and Death, will make of you; and to keep you low in your Computations upon

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[z] All Bodies are made of the same *Matter.* [a] The Emperour means the Stars which the Heathen and some Christians too believed to be animated, and that a Spirit or Intelligence was seated in the Centre, and governed the Motions of the Luminary. [b] Or Providence.

Fame, consider that both the Orator and the Hero, the Men and the Merit, will quickly go off, and be out of Sight; that the *Earth* is but a *Point*, and that we live but in a Corner of this little Dimension neither; that Men differ in their Notions of Honour and Esteem; and that even the same Person is not of the same Opinion long together.

XXII. Mind that which lies before you, whether it be Thought, Word, or Action: You are well enough serv'd [c], for postponing your Improvement, and making Virtue wait for you till to-morrow.

XXIII. Am I about any Thing? I'll do it with Regard to the Interest of Mankind: Does any Thing happen to me extraordinary? I'll receive it as the Appointment of Fate, and the Distribution of Heaven.

XXIV. Think a little, and tell me what you meet with in the Business of *Bathing:* There's Oyl, and Sweat, and Dirtiness, and Water, but an offensive Mixture, take it altogether. Why, Life and Satisfaction is made up of much such indifferent Stuff, but coarse, if you examine it to the Bottom.

XXV. *Lucilla* buried *Verus* [d], and follow'd him soon after: *Secunda* did the same Office for *Maximus*, and surviv'd but a little while. And thus it fared with *Epitynchanus* and *Diotimus*, with *Antoninus* and *Faustina* [e], with *Celer* [f] and the Emperour *Adrianus*; they assisted at one Funeral,

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[c] Here the Emperour refers to some Disappointment.
[d] *Lucilla* was our Emperour's Daughter, and married to *Verus*, who was his Partner in the Empire. [e] *Antoninus Pius*'s Empress. [f] An Orator, or Rhetorick-Master to our Emperour, and his Colleague *Lucius Verus*.

and quickly made another themſelves. Thus poor Mortals moulder away! Where are thoſe Men of Reach and Prognoſtication? And t'other haughty fantaſtical Sparks? They made a great Noiſe and Figure formerly, but what's become of them now? Where are thoſe celebrated Philoſophers, *Charax*, *Eudæmon*, *Demetrius* the Platoniſt, and others of their Learning and Character? Alas! They took but a Turn in the World, and are gone long ſince. Some of them have ſunk to-rights, and left no Memory behind them; the Hiſtory of others is overcaſt, and dwindled into *Fables*; and a third Sort have decay'd farther, and dropt even out of a *Romance*. Your Buſineſs is therefore to remember, that after Death your Body will fall in Pieces, and fly off into *Atomes*; and as for your Spirit, that will either be extinguiſh'd, or remov'd into another Station.

XXVI. Pleaſure and Satisfaction conſiſt in following the Bent of Nature, and doing the Things we were made for: And which Way is this to be compaſs'd? By the Practice of general Kindneſs, by neglecting the Importunity and Clamour of our Senſes, by diſtinguiſhing Appearance from Truth, and by contemplating the Nature and Works of the Almighty. All this is acting according to kind, and keeping the Faculties in the right Channel.

XXVII. Every Man has three Relations to acquit himſelf in: His Body helps to make one, the Deity another, and his Neighbours a Third.

XXVIII. If Pain is an Affliction, it muſt affect either the Body or the Mind: If the Body is hurt, let it ſay ſo [8]; as for the Soul, ſhe can ſecure the Paſſes, and keep the Enemy at a Diſtance; 'tis

[8] See Book 7. Sect. 16.

in her Power to be invulnerable, by supposing the Accident no Evil; which Supposition is very practicable; for Judgment and Appetite, Aversion and Desire, and all the Equipage of Thought are lodg'd *within*, and there no Mischief can come at them [h].

XXIX. Discharge common Prejudice and the Fallacies of Fansy, by saying thus to your self: 'Tis in my Power to be as Easy, and as Innocent as 'tis possible; to have nothing of Vice, of Appetite or Disturbance in me: I am likewise in a Condition to state the Value, and distinguish the Quality of Things, and make use of them accordingly. These are all Privileges of Nature, and ought to be remember'd as such.

XXX. When you speak in the Senate, or elsewhere, mind Decency and Character more than Rhetorick, and let your Discourse be always sincere, and agree with your Meaning.

XXXI. *Augustus*'s Court is buried long since: His Empress and Daughter, his Grand-Children and Sons-in-law, his Sister and *Agrippa*, his Relations and Domesticks, Physicians and Under-Sacrificers, his Favourites, such as *Arius* the Philosopher and *Mæcenas*, they are all gone.

Go on from single Persons to Families; that of the *Pompeys*, for Instance, and you'll find the whole Line extinct. *This Man was the last of his House*, is not uncommon upon a Monument. How solicitous were the Ancestors of such People about an Heir, and yet the Family must of necessity sink, and the Blood fail at one Time or other.

XXXII. Govern your Life altogether by Measures and Rules; and if every Action goes its due Lengths, and holds up to Opportunity, rest con-

[h] The old Paradox.

tented,

tented. Now, no Mortal can hinder you from putting your Affairs in this Condition: But may not some Obstacle *without* interpose? No; not so far as to prevent your acting like a Man of Probity and Prudence. For all that, my Motions may be check'd, and my Design balk'd: 'Tis no Matter for that, as long as you are easy under the Obstruction, and pass on smoothly to what comes next; this Behaviour is as good as going thorough, and serves your Improvement as well as Success.

XXXIII. As to the Case of good Fortune, take it without Pride, and resign without Reluctance.

XXXIV. If you have observ'd a Hand or a Foot cut off and remov'd from the Body, just such a Thing is that Man to his Power, who is either a Malecontent, or Over-selfish, who struggles against *Fate*, or breaks off from the Interest of Mankind [i]: This untoward Behaviour amounts to Amputation, and destroys the Union of Nature. But here lies the good Luck of the Case; 'tis in your Power to retrieve the Maim, and set the Limb on again: This Favour is allow'd to no other Part of the Creation. Consider then the particular Bounty of God Almighty to Man in this Privilege: He has set him above the Necessity of breaking off from Nature and Providence at all; but supposing his Miscarriage, 'tis in his Power to rejoin the *Body*, and grow together again, and recover the Advantage of being the same Member he was at first.

XXXV. Whence comes all the Powers and Prerogatives of rational Beings? From the *Soul* of the *Universe* [k]. Amongst other Faculties, they

[i] See Book 2. Sect. 16. Book 3. Sect. 8. & alib. [k] God.

have this which I am going to mention: For as God over-rules all mutinous Accidents, brings them under the Laws of *Fate*, and makes them ſerviceable to his Purpoſe, ſo 'tis in the Power of Man to make ſomething out of every croſs Adventure, and turn all Oppoſition to Advantage.

XXXVI. Don't take your whole Life into your Head at a time, nor burthen your ſelf with the Weight of the *Future*, nor form an Image of all probable Misfortunes; this Method will but confound you. On the contrary, your Way is, upon every Emergency to put this Queſtion to your ſelf, *What intolerable Circumſtances is there in all this?* For here your Honour will ſecure you, you'll be aſham'd to aſſign Particulars, and confeſs your ſelf conquer'd. Beſides, you are to remember, that neither what's *paſt* nor what's to *come* needs afflict you, for you have only to deal with the *preſent*. Now this is ſtrangely leſſen'd, if you take it ſingle and by it ſelf: Chide your Fanſy therefore, if it offers to ſhrink from a Moment, and grow faint under ſo ſlender a Tryal.

XXXVII. Does *Panthea* and *Pergamus* ſtill wait at the Tomb of *Verus*, or *Chabrias* and *Diotimus* at that of *Adrian* [1]? That would be Stuff indeed! And what if they were there, would thoſe Princes be ſenſible of the Service? Granting they were, what Satisfaction would it be to them? And ſuppoſe they were pleaſed, would theſe Waiters laſt always and be Immortal? Are they not doom'd to Age and Death with the reſt of Mankind? And when they are dead, what a Pickle would the Royal Ghoſts be in, for want of their Attend-

[1] Princes us'd to have ſome of their Friends or Domeſticks ſit conſtantly at their Tombs for ſome Time after they were dead.

ance?

ance? Alas! These Fansies have nothing in them; all this Ceremony must end at last in Stench and Dust.

XXXVIII. If you are so discerning, says the Philosopher, make use of your Talent to some Purpose, and let your Subject be proportionable to your Parts.

XXXIX. I find no moral Virtue which contradicts and combates *Justice*; this can't be affirm'd of *Pleasure*, for here Temperance comes in with a Restraint.

XL. 'Tis Opinion which gives Being to Misfortune; don't fansy your self hurt, and nothing can touch you. But what, is this *you?* Is it not some notional superfine Thing? No; 'tis your Reason. But I am not so lucky as to be all Reason: Make your self so then, and don't let Reason degenerate, and grow uneasy. In short, when any Thing troubles you, let this Thought be your Remedy.

XLI. To be check'd in the Functions of Sense, and Motion, and Desire, is an Evil to the *Animal Life:* That which hinders the Growth or Flourishing of a *Vegetable*, may be said to be an Evil there; so likewise to be cramp'd in the Faculties of the Mind, is an Evil to an *intelligent Nature:* Apply all this to your self. Does Pleasure or Pain solicit or attack you? Turn them over to your *Senses*, and let them answer for't. Does any Thing lie cross your Undertaking? Why, if you were positive and peremptory about it, and set your Heart upon't, then the Disappointment is really an Evil: But if you engag'd only upon Condition the Nail would drive, and with a Reserve for Accidents, then no Manner of Hindrance or Harm has happen'd to you. Indeed, no Mortal can lay the Soul by the *Heels*, or put a Restraint upon her:

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The Mind, if she will but arm her Thoughts and exert her Courage, is impregnable; and neither Fire nor Sword, Tongue nor Tyrant can touch her.

XLII. Why should I fret and vex, that never willingly vexed any body [m]? Certainly I can have no Reason to be more unkind to my self, than to other People.

XLIII. Every Man has his particular Gust and Inclination; but my Pleasure lies in wise Thinking and reasonable Desires: Give me a sound and a sober Understanding; a Temper that never falls out either with Men or Accidents; that takes all Things with good Humour, computes rightly upon their Value, and puts them to the Uses they are fit for.

XLIV. Make the best of your Time while you have it: Those who are so solicitous about Fame, and think of living here after they are dead; such Men, I say, ne'er consider that the World won't mend by growing older; that future Generations will be as Weak and Disobliging as the present: What then can the Noise or Opinions of such little Mortals signify?

XLV. Toss me into what Climate or State you please; for all that I'll keep my Genius [n] in good Humour; that is, my own Conscience, if 'tis good, shall make me happy: Let me but perform the Duties of a reasonable Nature, and I'll ask no more. What! Is this Misadventure big enough to ruffle my Mind and throw her off the Hinges? To make her Mean, Craving, and Servile, and to fright her from the Privileges of her Nature?

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[m] The Emperour seems here to be under the Sense of some Ingratitude and ill Usage extraordinary. [n] Or Soul.

What

What is there that can justify such Disorders, and make Satisfaction for them?

XLVI. No Accident can happen to any Man but what is consequent to his Condition, and common to his Kind: And the same Thing may be affirm'd of a Beast, a Tree, or a Stone. Now, if Things fare no otherwise than according to Kind and Constitution, what makes you complain, and grow uneasy? You may be assur'd Providence will never lay you in the Way of an intolerable Evil, nor make your Being your Grievance.

XLVII. If *Externals* put you into the Spleen, take Notice that 'tis not the Thing which disturbs you, but your Notion about it; which Notion you may dismiss if you please: But if the Condition of your Mind disgusts you, who should hinder you from rectifying your Mistakes, and setting your Thoughts in order? Farther, if you are disturb'd because you are not Active and Bold in the Discharge of your Duty: If this be your Case, your Way is to fall on, and do something, and not lie growling at your own Omission. But you are under some insuperable Difficulty. If you have done your utmost, ne'er vex your self about the Matter? For you have nothing to answer for. It may be you will say, 'tis not worth my while to live, unless this Business can be effected: Why then e'en die, but take your Leave handsomely; go off as smoothly as if you had succeeded, and be not angry with those that disappointed you.

XLVIII. The Mind is invincible when she exerts her self, and relies upon her own Courage: In this Case there's no forcing her Will, though she has nothing but Obstinacy for her Defence. What then must her Strength be, when she is fortify'd with Reason, and engages upon Thought and Deliberation? A Soul unembarrass'd with

Passion

Passion °, is the most impregnable Security; hither we may retire and defie our Enemies: He that sees not this Advantage must be ignorant, and he that forgets to use it unhappy.

XLIX. Don't add to your Information from *without*, nor make more of Things than your *Senses* report. For Instance: You are told that such a one has spoken ill of you. Right, but that you are really the worse for't, is no part of the News; and if you think so, 'tis your own Addition. Again; I see my Child lie sick: True; but that he is in Danger is more than I see; and therefore if I conclude so, I must thank my self for't. Thus always stop at the first *Representation*, and you are safe: Inferences and supplemental Fansies do but make a Man unhappy. But if you will reason upon't, (which may not be unservicable) do it the right Way: Do it like a Man that has look'd through the World, and is no Stranger to any thing that can happen.

L. Does your *Cucumber* taste bitter? Let it alone. Are there *Brambles* in your Way? Avoid them then. Thus far you are well: But then don't ask *what does the World with such Stuff as this is?* This is to be too bold and impertinent; and a natural Philosopher would laugh at you: This Expostulation is just as wise at it would be to find fault with a Carpenter for having Saw-dust, or a Taylor Shreds in his Shop; they know where to bestow them, tho' you don't. Nay, if you examine farther, the Absurdity is too big for the Comparison: For *universal Nature* has no Place for Refuse out of herself. All Things are lodged within her Circumference. Here 'tis that they

° That has nothing of Hope or Fear of Aversion, or Desire to weaken it.

grow

grow old, and moulder, and ſeem good for nothing. But then under all theſe Diſadvantages the Wonder of her Contrivance is ſuch, that ſhe melts them down, and recoins them in another Figure, and ſends them new and ſhining from the *Mint*. And thus ſhe neither wants any foreign Ore, or *By-place* to throw the Droſs in: But is always abundantly furniſh'd with *Room*, and *Matter*, and *Art*, within her ſelf.

LI. Be not heavy in Buſineſs, nor diſturb'd in Converſation, nor rambling and impertinent in your Thoughts. Keep your Mind from running adrift; from ſudden Surprize and Tranſports, and don't overſet your ſelf with too much Employment. Do they curſe you? Do they threaten to kill, and quarter you? Let them go on: They can never murther your Reaſon nor your Virtue: Thoſe Privileges run for *Life* if you pleaſe. All this Barbarity ſignifies little. 'Tis much as if a Man that ſtands by a lovely Spring ſhould fall a railing on't: The Water is never the worſe for his foul Language: And if he ſhould throw in Dirt or Dung, 'twould quickly diſappear and diſperſe, and the Fountain be as wholſome as ever: Which Way now are you to go to work, to keep your Springs always running, and never ſtagnate into a Pool? I'll tell you: You muſt be always drudging at the Vertues of Freedom and Independence; of Sincerity, Sobriety and Good-nature. Make your ſelf but Maſter of theſe Qualities, and your Buſineſs is done.

LII. He that's unacquainted with the Origin and firſt Cauſe of the World, and with that Providence that governs it, muſt be at a Loſs to know where he is, and what *Empire* he lives under: And he that can't tell the Ends he was made for, is ignorant both of himſelf and the World

World too: And he that's uninſtructed in either of theſe two Points, will ne'er be able to look into the Deſign of his *Being*. And yet there are abundance of People that would be puzzled at theſe Queſtions. What do you think then of his Diſcretion, that's anxious about what is ſaid of him; and values either the Praiſe or the Cenſure of thoſe little Folks, that know neither *where* they are nor *who?*

LIII. Nothing can be more vain than the Courting of popular Applauſe. What! Are you ſo ambitious of a Man's good Word, that it may be in an Hour's Time ſhall curſe himſelf to the Pit of Hell? Are you ſo fond of being in their Favour, that can't keep in their own? Striving to pleaſe thoſe People that can't pleaſe themſelves, is to no manner of purpoſe! And how can they be ſaid to pleaſe themſelves, who are diſſatisfied with their Conduct at every Turn, and repent of almoſt every thing they do?

LIV. Let your Soul receive the Deity as your Blood does the Air, for the Influences of the one are no leſs vital than the other. This Correſpondence is very practicable: For there's an ambient omnipreſent Spirit, which lies as open and pervious to your Mind, as the Air you breath does to your Lungs: But then you muſt remember to be diſpos'd to draw it.

LV. Wickedneſs is no Subſtance or ſeparate Being, and therefore one would think it ſhould be no neceſſary Nuſance. It ſubſiſts only in particular Subjects, and here it does no harm to any thing that is Foreign. 'Tis only a Plague to the Breaſt it lies in; and does no Body any Miſchief, but him that may be rid of it whenever he pleaſes.

LVI. My Thoughts and my Will are as much my own as my Conſtitution, and no more concern'd

cern'd in the Conduct of another Man, than my Blood is in the beating of another Body's Pulse: For tho' we are born for the Service of each other, yet our Liberty is independent, and our Souls all left to our selves: Otherwise my Neighbour's Miscarriage might be my Misfortune. But God has prevented this Consequence, lest it should be in another's Power to make me unhappy.

LVII. The Sun is diffus'd and bestows himself every where, but this seeming Expence never exhausts him: The Reason is, because he is stretched like a Thread, and not pour'd out like a Liquor. And thus his Beams have their Name from Extension P. As for the Properties and Philosophy of a *Ray*, you may observe them, if you please to let it into a dark Room through a narrow Passage. Here you'll see it move in a right Line, till 'tis broken, and as it were divided in Reflexion; by having its Progress stopp'd upon a solid Body: And here the Light makes a Stand, without dropping, or sliding off. Thus you should let your *Sense* shine out upon Conversation: There's no fear of emptying your Understanding: And when you meet with Opposition, ne'er tilt and batter against it, nor yet drop your Talent in Despair. No: Let your Beams spread themselves, and play on, and enlighten where they find a Capacity: And as for that Body that won't transmit the Light, it does but darken it self by its Resistance.

LVIII. He that dreads Death, is either afraid that his Senses will be extinguish'd, or alter'd: Now if the Powers are lost, the Pain must be so too; for if he has no Faculties, he'll have no

P Ἀκτῖνες from Ἐκτείνεσθαι, as the Emperour will have it.

Feeling. But if he has new Perceptions, and another Sett of Senſes, he will be another Creature; and then he will live ſtill, as I take it.

LIX. Men are born to be ſerviceable to one another, therefore either reform the World, or bear with it.

LX. Underſtanding does not always drive onward like an Arrow. The Mind ſometimes by making a Halt, and going round for Advice, hits the Mark much better than if ſhe had let fly directly upon it.

LXI. Look nicely into the Thoughts of other People, and give them the ſame Freedom with your own.

BOOK IX.

I. TO play the Knave is to rebel againſt Religion, all ſort of Injuſtice is no leſs than High-Treaſon againſt Heaven: For ſince the *Nature*, or *Soul of the Univerſe* [q] has made rational Creatures for mutual Service and Support; made them that they ſhould aſſiſt and oblige each other, according to the Regards of Circumſtance and Merit, but never do any Body any Harm: The Caſe ſtanding thus, he that croſſes upon this Deſign, is prophane in his Contradiction and outrages the moſt antient *Deity*. For the Nature of the *Univerſe* is the Cauſe of it, and that which gives it Being. Thus all things are one Family, ſuited, and as it were of Kin to each other. This *Nature* is alſo ſtyled *Truth*, as being the Baſis of firſt Principles and Certainty. He there-

[q] God.

fore

fore that tells a Lye knowingly, is an irreligious Wretch; for by deceiving his Neighbour, he is unjuſt to him, and cheats him of the Truth to which he has a natural Right. And he that's guilty of an Untruth out of Ignorance, is liable to the ſame Charge, (tho' not in the ſame Degree,) becauſe his Ignorance is voluntary and affected; becauſe he diſſents from the Mind of Providence, brings Diſorder into the World, and oppoſes the firſt Settlement of Nature. He ſeems to be fond of Confuſions to declare for the Intereſt of Error, and take the Field againſt Certainty and Science. By neglecting the Aſſiſtances of Heaven, and the Talent he was born to; he has parted with the Guide of his Underſtanding, loſt the Teſt of Truth, and the Diſtinction of right and wrong. Farther: He that reckons Proſperity and Pleaſure among Things really good, Pain and Hardſhip amongſt Things really evil, can be no pious Perſon: For ſuch a Man will be ſure to complain of the Adminiſtrations of Providence, charge it with miſmatching Fortune and Merit, and miſapplying Rewards and Puniſhments: He'll often ſee ill People furniſh'd with Materials for Pleaſure, and regaled with the Reliſh of it: And good Men harraſs'd and depreſt, and meeting with nothing but Misfortune. To go on: He that's afraid of Pain or Affliction, will be afraid of ſomething that will always be in the World; but to be thus uneaſy at the Appointments of *Providence*, is a Failure in Reverence and Reſpect. On the other Hand; he that's Violent in the Purſuit of *Pleaſure*, won't ſtick to turn Villain for the Purchaſe: And is not this plainly an ungracious and an ungodly Humour? To ſet the Matter right, where the Allowance of God is equally clear, as it is with regard to Proſperity and Adverſity

verſity; for had he not approved both theſe Conditions, he would never have made them: I ſay, where the good liking of Heaven is equally clear, ours ought to be ſo too: Becauſe we ought to follow the *Guidance* of *Nature*, and the Senſe of the Deity. That Man therefore that does not comply with Providence in the ſame Indifference of Notion, with reſpect to Pleaſure and Pain, Life and Death, Honour and Infamy; he that does not this without ſtruggling of Paſſions, without unmanageable Preference or Averſion, is no Friend to the divine Oeconomy; his Thoughts are lewd and mutinous, and ſo would his Actions be too, if he had Power.

By ſaying that *Univerſal Nature*, or God, ſtands equally affected to theſe different Diſpenſations, the Meaning is, that they are both comprehended in the general Scheme, and equally conſequent to the firſt Eſtabliſhment. They were decreed by the Almighty from the Beginning, and ſtruck out with the Lines of the Creation. Then 'twas that the *Plan* of *Providence* was drawn, and the Fate of Futurity determin'd. Then Nature was made Prolifick, and enabled to bring forth in due Time: Then the whole *Stock* of *Beings*, the Revolutions of Fortune, and the Succeſſions of Time, were all ſtated and ſet a going.

II. He is better bred, and more a Gentleman, that takes Leave of the World without a Blot in his Scutcheon; and has nothing of Falſhood and Diſſimulation, of Luxury or Pride, to tarniſh his Character. But when a Man is once dipt in theſe Vices, the next beſt thing is for him to quit, rather than live on and be an old Sinner. I ſuppoſe you underſtand the Plague too well not to run away from it? And what's the Plague? Why if you are a Knave, or a Libertine, you

have

have the Tokens upon you. The Infection of the Mind is ten Times worſe than that of the Air; the Malignity is not near ſo fatal in the *Blood*, as in the *Will*; for the *Brute* only ſuffers in the firſt Caſe, but the *Man* in the other.

III. Don't contemn Death, but take it handſomely and willingly; look upon it as part of the Product of *Nature*, and one of thoſe Things which *Providence* has been pleas'd to order. For as Youth and Age, Growth and Declenſion, Down and gray Hairs, Pregnancy and Birth, *&c.* are all natural Actions, Conſequences of Time, and Incidents of Life; ſo alſo is Dying and Diſſolution every jot as much according to common Courſe as the reſt. A wiſe Man therefore muſt neither run giddily, nor ſtaulk haughtily into his Grave; he muſt look upon Death as *Nature*'s Buſineſs, and wait her Leiſure, as he does for the Progreſs and Maturity of other[r] Things: For as you don't overdrive a *Fœtus*, but let it take its own Time, and come into the World when 'tis ready; ſo you ſhould ſtay in the other Caſe, till Opportunity preſents, and Things are ripe; and your Soul drops out of the Huſk of her own accord. But if you ſtand in need of a vulgar Remedy, and want a Cordial to make Dying go down the better, you ſhall have it. Conſider then what ſort of World, and what ſort of Humours you will be rid of! 'Tis true you are not to fall foul upon Mankind, but to treat them with Kindneſs and Temper: but ſtill you may remember that you don't live among People juſt of your own Mind and Fanſy. Indeed if your Humours hit it, and your Underſtandings were all ſet to the ſame

[r] Here the Emperour ſeems to contradict his *Stoical* Opinion of the Lawfulneſs of Self-Murder.

Tune; such an Unanimity amongst Mortals, might reasonably recommend Life, and make us loath to part with it: But you perceive the Matter is quite otherways: And that vast Disturbances are bred by different Opinions: Insomuch that now we ought rather to petition Death to make haste, for fear we should be teaz'd out of our Reason, and lose our best Thoughts in a Crowd.

IV. He that commits a Fault Abroad is a Trespasser at Home, and he that injures his Neighbour hurts himself, for to make himself an ill Man is a shrewd Mischief.

V. Omissions no less than Commissions, are oftentimes Branches of Injustice.

VI. If your Judgment pronounces rightly, if your Actions are friendly, and well-meant, if your Mind is contented, and resign'd to Providence; if you are in Possession of these Blessings, you are happy enough in all Conscience.

VII. Don't be impos'd on by *Appearances*; check your Fansy, and moderate your Heat; and keep your Reason always in her own Power.

VIII. The Souls of Brutes are all of one kind, and so are those of rational Beings tho' of a high Order. And thus all Living Creatures that have Occasion for Air, and Earth, and Light, are furnish'd at the same Shop; and have the same Elements, and Sun at their Service [s].

IX. Things of the same common Quality have a Tendency to their kind: Earthy Bodies tumble to the Ground, one Drop of Moisture runs after another; and thus Air, where 'tis predominant, presses after Air: And nothing but Force and

[s] This Section proves that Mankind are all equal in the grand Privileges of Nature.

Violence

Violence can keep these Things asunder. Fire likewise mounts, and reaches upwards, to make after its own Element above: This Property gives it a Disposition to propagate its Species, and join other Fires here below; and for this Reason it catches easily upon all Fuel a little more dry than ordinary; because here the Qualities opposite to Accension are weak and disabled. Thus all Beings which partake of the same common *Thought* and Understanding, have a natural Instinct for Correspondence with their own Kind: Only with this Difference, that the higher any thing stands in the *Scale* of Being, the stronger it is inclin'd to Communication with its own Order and Distinction. To illustrate the Argument, we find the Force of Nature and Blood very active amongst *brute Animals*; as appears by their running together in Herds and Swarms according to Kind; by their providing for their young Ones, and by that Resemblance of Love and Affection, which is carried on among them. These *Animals* have a Soul in them; by Consequence their Principle of Union is more vigorous than in Stocks and Stones. To go on to reasonable Creatures: And here we may observe Mankind united by publick Councils, and Common-wealths, by particular Friendships, and Families; and when War has work'd them to the greatest Misunderstanding, they have even then the Benefit of Corresponding by Truce and Articles: Farther, to instance in a higher Order; the Stars [t], though not Neighbours in Situation, move by Concert. Thus where Things are more noble, and Nature rises, Sympathy rises too, and operates at a Distance.

[t] The Emperour suppos'd the Stars animated by a Deity.

But here lies the Misery on't: Mankind are strangely unfortunate with the Privilege of their Reason! They are the only Beings which break through the Force of Instinct, and would make the Alliances of Nature signify nothing. But tho' they run from their Kind, they are catched again in some Measure. For you shall sooner see a Piece of Earth refuse to lie by its own Element, than find any Man so perfectly unsociable, as not to correspond with some Body or other.

X. Every thing affords some Product; God, and Men, and the World, all of them bear *Fruit* in their proper Seasons; 'tis true, Use has restrain'd this Signification to Vines and Trees; but this Custom apart, Reason may properly enough be said to *Bear*, when 'tis serviceable both at home, and to the Publick: Especially if we consider that the *Fruit* of the Understanding keeps close to its Kind, and resembles the *Stock* more fully than that which grows in the Garden.

XI. Give an injurious Person good Advice, and reform him if you can. If not, remember that your Clemency and Temper was given you for this Trial; that the Gods are so patient and benign, as to pass by the Perverseness of Men, and sometimes to assist them over and above in their Health, Fame, and Fortune. Just thus may you do if you please, if not, let me know the Impediment.

XII. Don't drudge like a Galley Slave; nor do Business in such a laborious Manner, as if you had a Mind to be pitied, or wondred at. Let your Motives be more solid, and either put on, or make a Halt, as publick Reason, and Convenience shall direct you.

XIII. To day I rushed clear out of all Misfortune; or rather I threw Misfortune from me: For

to

to ſpeak Truth, it was no *Out-lier*, nor ever any farther off than my own Fanſy.

XIV. All Things are the ſame over again, and nothing but what has been ſerv'd up to our Fore-fathers: They are ſtale upon Experiment; Momentary in their Laſting, and coarſe in their Matter.

XV. Things or Accidents ſtand without Doors, and keep their Diſtance, and neither know, nor report any Things about themſelves; what is it then that pronounces upon their Quality, and makes them look frightfully? Nothing but your own Fanſy and Opinion [v].

XVI. As Virtue and Vice conſiſt in Action, and not in the Impreſſions of the Senſes; ſo 'tis not what they *Feel*, but what they *Do*, which makes Mankind either Happy or Miſerable [w].

XVII. 'Tis all one to a Stone whether 'tis thrown upwards or downwards; the mounting or ſinking of the Motion, does not make the Thing one Jot the better or the worſe [x].

XVIII. Examine the Size of Peoples Senſe and the Condition of their Underſtandings, and you'll never be fond of Popularity, or afraid of Cenſure.

XIX. All Things are in a perpetual Flux, and a ſort of Conſumption; you your ſelf are ſo, and the whole World keeps you Company.

XX. Don't diſturb your ſelf about the Irregularities of other People, but let every Bodies Fault lie at their own Doors.

XXI. The Intermiſſion of Action, and a Stop in Appetite and Thought, are a kind of Death upon the Faculties for the preſent; and yet there

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[v] See Book 4. Sect. 39. & alib. [w] See Book 6. Sect. 51. [x] See Book 8. Sect. 20.

is no harm in't. Go on now to the different Periods of Life: And here you'll find Infancy, Youth, Man-hood, and old Age treading upon the Heels of each other; and the First as it were cut down, and dispatch'd by the latter. And where lies the Damage and Terror of all this? Proceed to your Grandfather's Time, and to that of your Father and Mother, and run over as much Ground in Changes, Decay, and Death as you please; and when you have done, ask your self what great Grievance there is in the Contemplation: And when you find nothing extraordinary, you may conclude that Ending and Alteration will sit no harder upon your Life, than upon those before you.

XXII. Make a Stand for Thought and Enquiry, and survey your own Mind, that of the y *Universe*, and that of the Person who has disoblig'd you: Your own, that you may keep it honest; God Almighty's, that you may know who you are part of, and to whom you belong; the Offender's, that you may discover whether his Fault was Ignorance or Malice: and here you should likewise remember, that you are of Kin to him.

XXIII. As you are a Member of *Society* your self, so every Action of yours should tend to the Benefit and Improvement of it. So that when you do any thing which has neither immediate, nor remote Reference to general Advantage; you make a Breach in the common Interest, destroy the Unity of publick Life, and are as really guilty of a seditious Behaviour, as a Malecontent that embroils a Nation, and draws off a Faction from the Government.

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y God.

XXIV. The

XXIV. The Buſineſs of Mankind is ſtrangely trifling and tranſient; things are ſo hollow, and ſo quickly hurried off, that the World looks ſomewhat like a Scene of Necromancy, and ſeems to be more Apparition than real Life [z].

XXV. Penetrate the Quality of *Forms*, and take a View of them, abſtracted from their *Matter*; and when you have done this, compute the common Period of their Duration [a].

XXVI. You have been a great Sufferer for rambling from a Life of Reaſon, and for not being contented with doing what you were made for.

XXVII. When People treat you ill, blame your Conduct, or report any thing to your Diſadvantage; ſhoot your ſelf into the very Soul of them; rummage their Underſtandings, and ſee how their Heads are furniſh'd: A thorough Enquiry into this Matter will ſet you at Reſt: You'll be fully convinced that the Opinion of ſuch Mortals is not worth one troubleſome Thought. However you muſt be kind to them, for Nature has made them your Relations. Beſides, the Gods [b] give them all ſort of Countenance, adverti ſe them by Dreams and Prophecy, and help them to thoſe Things they have a Mind to.

XXVIII. This uncertain World is always rolling, and turning Things topſy-turvy. Now the *Soul* of the *Univerſe* [c] either purſues the Courſe of Time, deſcends to Particulars, and exerts it ſelf upon every Effect, or elſe *Matter* and *Motion* were put into ſuch Order at firſt, that Things ſhould do of themſelves, and work up the *Model* by neceſſary Conſequence: Take it either Way,

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[z] See Book 5. Sect. 33. [a] See Book 4. 21, & 7. 29. & 12. 18. [b] Whoſe Pattern ought to be followed. [c] God.

and

and the Administration will lie in the same Hands; and that's sufficient to make you quiet. But if neither of these Hypotheses will satisfy, you must set *Epicurus*'s *Atomes* at the *Helm*, and make them justle out a World in the Dark. In a Word; if God governs, all's well: But if Things are left to themselves, and set adrift, don't you ramble and float after them. To conclude: We shall quickly be all under Ground; and e'er long the Earth it self must be chang'd into something else; and that *Something* into another *Form*, and so on *in Infinitum*. Now he that considers these everlasting Alterations, this constant tossing and tumbling, and how fast Revolutions succeed each other; he that considers this, I say, will have but a mean Opinion of what the World can afford.

XXIX. *Nature* runs rapid like a Torrent, and sweeps all Things [d]. What wretched States-Men are those Counterfeits in Virtue and Philosophy [e]? Heark you, Friend, no more Hypocrisy and Grimace, no *prudential* Knavery, no clashing between Politicks and Morals! Come, let Honesty be serv'd first; do what God requires of you, and trust for the Issue and Event: Fall on then, as Occasion offers, and ne'er look about for Company and Commendation: However, I would not have you expect *Plato*'s Commonwealth: That Draught is too fine; and your Morals will ne'er rise up to it. As the World goes, a moderate Reformation is a great Point, and therefore rest contented. If we can but govern Peoples Hands, we must let their Hearts and

[d] See Book 2. 17. 7. 19. & alib. [e] This Section is levell'd against the Knavery of the *Sophists*, who pretended to the Politicks.

their Heads go free. To cure them all of their Folly and ill Principles, is impracticable. And yet unleſs you can change their Opinions, their Subjection will be all Force and Diſſembling. But you'll ſay, were not *Alexander*, *Philip*, and *Demetrius Phælereus* under the Rules of theſe pretended Philoſophers? And what a noble Figure do they make in Hiſtory? Granting all that, I have a Queſtion or two to aſk them. Had they a right Notion of the Laws of Nature, and were they juſt and generous in good earneſt? If their Virtues were all Shew and Varniſh, I deſire to be excus'd the Imitation. Philoſophy is a modeſt Profeſſion, 'tis all Reality and Plain-dealing. I hate Solemnity and Pretence with nothing but Pride at the Bottom.

XXX. Fly your Fanſy into the Clouds, and from this imaginary Height, take a View of Mortals here below. What ſtrange Medley of Management, what Confuſion of Proſpect is here? What infinite Variety in Religion, Government, and Fortune? Go on with the ſpeculation, ſtretch your Thoughts over Time and Nature, and look upon Things in the different Aſpects of the *Paſt* and the *Preſent*; conſider how the World withers, and wears off; that the Ages before were unacquainted with you, and ſo will many of thoſe that come after. That neither your Power nor your Fame, reaches far among the *Barbarians*; how many are there that never heard of your Name, how many that will quickly forget you, and how many that admire you now, will cenſure you afterwards? In ſhort, Memory and Fame, and all thoſe Things which are commonly ſo much valued, are no better than Toys and Amuſements.

XXXI. Be always eaſy and upright; let Fortitude guard *without*, and Honeſty *within*; keep your

your Mind and your Motions true to the Intereſt of Mankind, for then you know your Faculties are in the right Poſture, that Nature has ſet them.

XXXII. The greateſt Part of your Trouble lies in your Fanſy, and therefore you may diſengage your ſelf when you pleaſe. I'll tell you which Way you may move much more freely, and give Eaſe, and Elbow-room to your Mind. Take the whole World into your Contemplation, and the little Time you are to live in't. Conſider how faſt the Scenes are ſhifted, and how near the End of all Things lies to their Beginning! But then the Extent of Duration in which we are nothing concern'd! The Ages before our Birth and after our Death are both infinite and unmeaſurable.

XXXIII. Whatever makes a Figure now, will quickly decay and diſappear: And thoſe that gaze upon the Ruins of Time, will be bury'd under them. And then the longeſt and the ſhorteſt Liver will be both in the ſame Condition.

XXXIV. If you would walk *within* People, and diſcover their Intentions, and look through their Ceremony, and Reſpect, you muſt ſtrain for Obſervation; and ſtrip them to the Soul if you can: Such a narrow Enquiry will, among other Things, bring a great deal of Vanity to Light; yes, Mortals are very full of themſelves; when they commend or cenſure, do you a good or ill Turn, they are ſtrangely conceited of the Performance.

XXXV. The Diſſolution of *Forms* is no Loſs in the Maſs of *Matter*. Things are chang'd this Way, 'tis true, but they don't periſh. Providence, by which all Things are well contriv'd, delights in theſe Alterations; they have always had

had their Range in the World, and always will have. What then? Will you blame the Conduct of the first Cause? Were all Things *made*, and must they always be out of Order? What! Are there so many Gods in Being, and none able to conquer and correct this Evil? And is Nature indeed condemn'd to an everlasting Misfortune.

XXXVI. The Materials of *Bodies*, if you examine them, are strangely coarse: Those that are animated, have little in them but Water, and Dust, and Bones, and something that's offensive. And then if you go to Metals, Minerals, &c. Marble is no more than a callous Excrescence, nor Gold and Silver any better than the Dregs and Sediment of the Earth. Fine Cloaths are nothing but Hair twisted together, and smear'd with the Blood of a little Fish [f]. And thus I might proceed farther. And as for *Spirits*, they are somewhat of Kin to the rest, and are chased from one Figure to another [g].

XXXVII. Come, you have liv'd long enough, unless you could make more on't! Here's nothing but Grumbling and Apishness to be met with: What makes you disturbed? What can you be surpriz'd at? What has happen'd to you worse than you had Reason to expect? Does *Form* or *Matter*, *Body* or *Spirit*, make you uneasy? Look into them, and you may probably be relieved. Now, for your Comfort, these two are Natures all, and there's no third Thing to molest you: 'Tis high Time therefore to interpret the Gods rightly, and throw off your Chagrin against Heaven.

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[f] This made the Purple Dye. [g] The *Stoicks* held the Soul a Compofition of Fire and Air, and by Consequence it must be corruptible.

XXXVIII. Three Years Time to peruſe Nature, and look over the World, is as good as a Hundred [h].

XXXIX. If ſuch a Man has done amiſs, the Miſchief is to himſelf; and it may be, if you enquire, he has not neither.

XL. Either all Things are order'd by an intelligent Being, who makes the World but one Family, (and if ſo, why ſhould a Part, or ſingle Member, complain of that which is deſign'd for the Benefit of the Whole) or elſe we are under the Miſrule of *Atomes* and *Confuſion*. Now, take the Caſe which Way you pleaſe, there's either no Reaſon or no Remedy for Complaint; and therefore 'tis to no Purpoſe to be uneaſy.

XLI. I hope you underſtand your Mind better than to kill and bury it, and make it little enough for the coarſe Functions and Fate of the Body.

XLII. Either the Gods have Power to aſſiſt us, or they have not; if they have not, what does praying to them ſignify? If they have, why don't you rather pray that they would diſcharge your Deſires, than ſatisfy them; and rather ſet you above the Paſſion of Fear, than keep away the Thing you are afraid of? For if the Gods can help us, no doubt they can help us to be wiſer. But it may be you'll ſay, they have furniſh'd me ſufficiently for theſe Matters: Why then don't you make uſe of your Talent, and act like a Man of Spirit, and not run cringing and creeping after that which is out of your Reach? But then who told you that the Gods don't aſſiſt us in Things which we might poſſibly compaſs by our ſelves? Let me preſcribe the Matter of your Devotions. For Inſtance: This Man prays that he may gain

[h] See Book 3. Sect. 7. Book 6. Sect. 23.

ſuch

ſuch a Woman, it may be to debauch her; but do you rather pray that you may have no ſuch Inclination. Another invokes the Gods to ſet him free from a troubleſome Superiour; but let it be your Petition, that your Mind may never put you upon ſuch a Wiſh. A Third is mighty devout to prevent the Loſs of his Son; but I would have you pray rather againſt the Fear of loſing him. Let this be the Rule for your Devotions, and ſee if the Event does not anſwer.

XLIII. When I was ſick, ſays *Epicurus*, I did not diſcourſe the Company about my Diſeaſes, or the Torment I was troubled with: No, my Syſtem of natural Philoſophy was part of my Subject; and my main Concern was, that my Mind might not give Way to my Body, nor grow uneaſy under Pain: I made no great Buſineſs of a Recovery, nor gave any Handle to the Doctors to brag of their Profeſſion, but held on with Fortitude and Indifferency. Thus he. And when you are ſick, or under any other Diſadvantage, can't you behave your ſelf in this Manner? 'Tis practicable to all Perſuaſions in Philoſophy, to ſtand their Ground againſt all Accidents, and not to fall into the Weakneſſes and Folly of the Ignorant. We muſt always be prepared for the *preſent*, mind the Thing before us, and the Tools too with which we are to work.

XLIV. When you are ſhock'd by any Man's Impudence, put this Queſtion to your ſelf: Is it poſſible for ſuch impudent People not to be in the World? No indeed [i]. Why then do you wiſh for an Impoſſibility? For this lewd, ill-behav'd Fellow, is one of thoſe neceſſary Raſcals

[i] The *Stoicks* fanſied Vice neceſſary to the Being of Virtue. *Vid. Annot. Gatak.*

that

that the World can't dispense with. This Reflection will furnish you with Patience for a Knave or any other ill Body. For when you consider, that there's no living without this sort of Cattle, you'll treat them with more Temper upon Occasion. And to fortify you farther, you'll find that Nature has arm'd you at all Points, sent an Antidote against every Disease, and provided you some Virtue or other against all sort of Vice and Immorality. For the Purpose; if you have to do with a troublesome Blockhead, you have Meekness and Temper for your Guard, and so of the rest. 'Tis likewise in your Power to inform the Man better, and set him right: For every one that does an ill Action, is really out of his Way, and misses his Mark, tho' he may not know it. Besides, what Harm have you receiv'd? If you examine the Case, you'll find none of these provoking Mortals have done your Mind any Damages: Now that is the only Place in which you are capable of being hurt. Pray, where's the Wonder if an ignorant Fellow has done like himself? If you expected other Things from him, you are much to blame. His want of Sense or Principles might make you conclude upon his Misbehaviour, and yet when that which was most likely has happen'd, you seem surpriz'd at it. Farther, when you complain of a notorious Knave, you are still more to blame: For tho' his Honesty might have been a Disappointment, Falshood ought to be none; And what could make you believe he would balk his Custom and Fansy for your sake? To go on; you have done a Kindness to such a Person, and because he makes no Return, you grow Peevish and Satyrical upon him: In earnest, this is a Sign that you had a mercenary View, and that you were but a Huckster in the Mask of a Friend; for

otherwise

otherwiſe you would have been ſatisfied with a generous Action, and made Virtue her own Reward. To argue the Point a little: You have oblig'd a Man; 'tis very well! What would you have more? Is not the Conſciouſneſs of doing a good Office a ſufficient Conſideration? You have humour'd your own Nature, and acted upon your Conſtitution; and muſt you ſtill have ſomething over and above? This is juſt as if an Eye or a Foot ſhould demand a Salary for their Service, and not ſee a Pin or move a Step without ſomething for their Pains. For as theſe Organs are contriv'd for particular Functions, which when they perform they purſue their Nature, and attain their Perfection; ſo Man is made to be kind and oblige, and his Faculties are order'd accordingly: And therefore when he does a good Office, and proves ſerviceable to the World, he follows the Bent, and anſwers the End of his Being; and when he does ſo, he moves ſmoothly, and is always in the beſt Condition.

BOOK X.

I. O My Soul! Are you ever to be rightly good, uncompounded and uniform, unmaſk'd and made more viſible to your ſelf than the Body that hangs about you? Are you ever likely to reliſh good Nature and general Kindneſs as you ought? Will you ever be fully ſatisfied, get above Want and Wiſhing, and never deſire to fetch your Pleaſure out of any Thing foreign, either Living or Inaminate? Not deſiring, I ſay, either *Time* for longer Enjoyment, nor *Place* for Elbow-room, nor *Climate* for good Air, nor the *Muſick* of good Company? Can you abſtract your

ſelf thus from the World, and take your Leave of all Mortals, and be contented with your preſent Condition, let it be what it will? And be perſuaded that you are fully furniſh'd; that all Things will do well with you, for the Gods are at the Head of the Adminiſtration; and they will approve of nothing but what is for the beſt, and tends to the Security and Advantage of that good, righteous, beautiful and perfect *Animal* [k], which generates and ſupports all Things, and keeps thoſe Things which decay from running out of Compaſs, that other reſembling Beings may be made out of them. In a word, are you ever likely to be ſo happily qualified, as to converſe with the Gods and Men in ſuch a Manner as neither to complain of them nor be condemn'd by them?

II. Examine what your Nature requires, as if you had no other Law to govern you: And when you have look'd into her Inclinations, never balk them, unleſs your *animal Nature* or the Intereſt of your Body are likely to be worſe for't. Then you are to examine what your *animal Nature* or the Intereſt of your Senſes demands: And here you may indulge your Appetite as far as you pleaſe, provided your *rational Nature* does not ſuffer by the Liberty. Now your *rational Nature* admits of nothing but what is ſerviceable to the reſt of Mankind: Keep to theſe Rules, and you'll have no need of rambling for farther Inſtruction.

III. Whatever happens, you have no Reaſon to take it ill, for either you have Strength to bear it, or you have not; if you have, exert your Nature, and ne'er murmur at the Matter: But if the Weight is too heavy for you, 'twill cruſh your

[k] The World, or God. See Book 4. Sect. 40. Book 5. Sect. 8.

Senſes,

Senſes, and then you won't feel it. And here you are to remember that to think a Thing tolerable is the Way to make it ſo: Now, to think it neceſſary is the Way to think it tolerable. Preſs it but ſtrongly from the Topicks of Intereſt or Duty, and you will go thorough.

IV. Is any one miſtaken? Undeceive him civilly, and ſhew him his Overſight; but if you can't convince him, blame your own Management, tho' it's poſſible you may not always deſerve it.

V. Whatever happens to you, was pre-ordain'd your Lot, and that Chain of Cauſes which conſtitutes *Fate*, ty'd your *Perſon* and the *Event* together from all Eternity.

VI. Either *Atomes* and *Chance*, or *Nature* [l] are uppermoſt: Now I am for the latter Part of the Diſjunction, and lay it down for a Ground in the firſt Place, that I am Part of that *Whole* which is all under *Nature*'s Government. Secondly, I am in ſome Meaſure related to thoſe Beings which are of my own *Order* and *Species*. Theſe Points being agreed, I ſhall apply them: Inſomuch then as I am a Part of the *Univerſe*, I ſhall never be diſpleas'd with the general Appointment: For that can never be prejudicial to the *Parts* which is ſerviceable to the *Whole*; neither is the *Univerſe* clogg'd with any Incumbrance, for the Nature of no Being is an Enemy to it ſelf. But the World [m] has this Advantage above other particular Beings, that there is nothing to limit or over-rule it; no foreign Power to force it upon unfriendly Productions. Since therefore I am a Member of ſo magnificent a *Body*, and belong to ſuch an uncontrollable Sovereignty, I ſhall freely acquieſce in

[l] God. [m] Or God.

whatever happens to me. Farther, in as much as I have a particular Relation to my own *Species*, I will never do any Thing againſt common Right or the Intereſt of *Society*. On the other hand, I ſhall make it my Buſineſs to oblige Mankind, lay out my whole Life for the Advantage of the *Publick*, and forbear all Sort of Liberty which has a Tendency to the contrary. And by holding to this Conduct I ſhall be happy of Courſe; as that Burgher muſt needs be who is always plodding for the Benefit of his *Corporation*, and perfectly ſatisfied with that Intereſt and Station the Government ſhall aſſign him.

VII. Whatever lies within the Compaſs of the *Univerſe*, muſt of Neceſſity corrupt and decay; by Corruption I mean only Alteration. Now if this be an Evil, 'tis a neceſſary one; by Conſequence the *Whole* of Nature muſt be in a bad Condition, by having the *Parts* ſo ſlenderly put together, and ſo very much diſpos'd to moulder and drop in Pieces. And if the Caſe ſtands thus, *Nature* muſt either deſign Unkindneſs to her ſelf, by making the Parts of her own Body ſubject to an unavoidable Misfortune, or elſe ſhe huddled up Things in the dark without foreſeeing what would become of them: But both theſe Suppoſitions are highly improbable. Now if any Man has a mind to leave *Nature* or the firſt Cauſe out of the Scheme, and affirm that Things follow the Make and Tendency of their Conſtitution; he that affirms this does but expoſe himſelf by granting, in the firſt Place, that the Parts of the *Univerſe* are made for Alteration: And then falls a wondring and growling at Decay and Revolution, as if ſuch Accidents were unnatural and extraordinary; eſpecially ſince Things do but return whence they came, and fall back no farther than their firſt

Principles. For upon the Diſſolution of particular Bodies, either the *Elements* are ſcatter'd at large, or elſe they march ſtraight to their Head Quarters; and that which is ſolid turns to Earth, and the Particles of Air join their own *Element:* And thus they are receiv'd into the main Body of the *Univerſe*; the *Univerſe*, I ſay, which will either be deſtroy'd by Fire, after a certain Period, or elſe be renew'd by perpetual Viciſſitudes. To return; I would not have you think that thoſe Particles of Earth or Air, which you have now in your Conſtitution, are the ſame with thoſe you brought into the World with you. Don't miſtake; your Body has been made over and over ſince that Time: The *Matter* which now belongs to you is as it were but of Yeſterday's Growth; tho' you have liv'd ſo long in the World, your Carcaſs is but a young one, for you have taken it all in at your Mouth but ſomewhat lately; and therefore when you perceive it wear off, you need not be ſo much troubled at the Loſs; for the Alterations in your Body don't rob you of the Fleſh and Blood you had from your Mother, but only of ſome freſher Recruits of no long ſtanding. But ſuppoſe you had ſtill the ſame Body you was born with, what would you do with it without the Benefit of Change? Without a new Supply of *Matter*, which muſt alter the Caſe, Nouriſhment and Growth are perfectly impracticable: Beſides, Death can't be far off, and then both *new Matter* and *old* muſt take their Leave and be ſwept to their reſpective Elements [n].

VIII. When you have given your ſelf the Titles of a Man of Modeſty and Good-nature, of Truth and Prudence, of Reſignation and Mag-

[n] D'Acier.

nanimity, take care that your Practice anſwers up to your Character; and if your Diſtinctions and your Life do not agree, if any of theſe glorious Names are loſt in your Miſmanagement, recover them as ſoon as you can. Remembring withal, that Prudence implies Conſideration, Care and comprehenſive Enquiry: That to be unanimous [o] or reſign'd, ſignifies a chearful Compliance with the Allotments of Providence. That Magnanimity imports an Elevation of Soul, a noble Contempt of Pleaſure and Pain, of Glory and Death; and all thoſe Things which People are either fond or afraid of. Now if you can earn the Honour of this Style, and neither fly out of the Compaſs of the Character, nor yet deſire it from other Folks, you'll be quite another Man, and ſteer a quite different Courſe from what you do at preſent. And indeed 'tis high Time to begin: For to deſire to go on at this rate, to be polluted with Appetite, and harraſſed with Paſſion any longer, is a ſenſeleſs and a ſcandalous Wiſh. It reſembles the Meanneſs of thoſe poor Wretches in the Amphitheatre, who when they are half devoured [p], and have nothing but Wounds left them, beg notwithſtanding to be reſpited till the Morrow; tho' they know themſelves only reſerved for the ſame *Teeth* that tore them before. Act up then to theſe few Names of Credit, and work them into the Soul of you. And if you find your Virtue big enough for the Practice, ſtand your Ground, and think your ſelf tranſported to the *fortunate Iſlands* [q]. But if you are overmatch'd, and begin to give Way, and perceive your *Station* and Impediment, e'en knock

[o] Τὸ εὐμοιρον. [p] By Lions and other Beaſts of Prey.
[q] The Paradiſe of the Heathens.

off,

off, and retire where you may manage better. And if this won't do, you may give Life the Slip; but then let there be nothing of Paſſion or Hurry in the Manner: Walk gravely and handſomly into the other World; and thus the laſt Action of your Life will be the only one worth the owning. And to remember thoſe good Qualities above mention'd the more effectually, you ſhould conſider that Imitation is the moſt acceptable Part of Worſhip, and that the Gods had much rather Mankind ſhould reſemble than flatter them: That Operation is the right Proof of Nature; that Trees are diſtinguiſhed by their Fruit, Dogs by the Qualities proper to their Kind; and thus it holds with Men too, who ought to quit that Name, unleſs they can anſwer the Idea, and make out their Claim by their Actions.

IX. Unleſs you are very careful, this campaigning, tempeſtuous Life you are engag'd in, the Liberties of your Court, your own Lazineſs, and the Flattery of your Subjects will conſtantly be doing you Diſſervice, wear out the noble Impreſſions of Philoſophy, and make your Study of Nature inſignificant. How then are you to manage upon all Occaſions? In ſuch a Manner as to omit neither Buſineſs nor Thinking. To be modeſt in the Conſciouſneſs of your Improvement, but not ſo far as to undervalue your Knowledge, and keep it out of Sight. When you are thus well ſkill'd, both in Theory and Practice, then your Virtues will regale you, and you'll reliſh the Advantage of Philoſophy. Then you'll be able to underſtand the Bottom of every Thing; to pronounce upon its Nature, the Ingredients 'twas made of, and the Weight it has in the World; to calculate its Continuance, who

are likely to be affected with it, and what Powers they are which can both give, and take it away.

X. A Spider when she has catched a Fly thinks she has done some great Matter, and so does a Sports-man when he has run down a Hare, and a Fisherman too when he has over-reach'd a Sprat or a Gudgeon: Some others must kill a Boar or a Bear before they can grow conceited; and a fourth Sort value themselves extremely upon their Hunting the *Sarmatian* Moss-troopers: Tho' it may be, in this last Case, if you go to the Definition of Robbing, the one are as much Thieves as the other.

XI. Sit closely to the Study of *Physicks*, that you may observe the Steps, and learn the History of Nature, and trace the Progress of Bodies from one Form and Species to another: Contemplate often upon this Subject, for there's nothing contributes so much to Greatness of Mind, as a thorough Insight into these Matters [r]. He that's rightly affected with this Speculation, has in a Manner laid his Body aside and all that belongs to it. He considers that this World will quickly be over with him, that he must take his Leave of Mankind, and remove into another Condition. In Consequence of these Thoughts, he is all Justice and Resignation [s]. And as for what People think or talk of him, or practise against him, he never minds it. He has but two Points to secure, that is, to be honest in what he does, and contented with what he receives [t]. As for other Projects and Fansies, he has done with them. His Business is only to live by Reason, and to follow that Path

[r] See Book 3. Sect. 11.
[s] That is, to Providence.
[t] From Fate.

which

which Nature has chalk'd out for him, for in ſo doing he has the Deity for his Guide.

XII. What need you be anxious about the Event, when you may examine the Enterprize, and debate the Reaſonableneſs of it? If you find it practicable and proper, go on, and let nothing divert you: But if you can't ſee through it, make a Halt, and take the beſt Advice upon the Caſe. And if your Meaſures happen to be broken by ſome new Emergency, make the moſt of what is in your Power, and always ſtick to the Point of Honeſty; for after all, that is the beſt Stake in the Hedge: For, tho' the grand Deſign may not ſucceed, yet when 'tis fairly undertaken, and well managed, it makes one eaſy under the Miſcarriage. Reaſon and Juſtice are pleaſant Companions; and thoſe that keep to them, are always ſatisfied, and in good Humour.

XIII. When you are firſt awake you may put this Queſtion; whether another Man's Virtue will ſignify any thing to the doing your Buſineſs? No, unleſs you help your ſelf, another Man's Mind will no more improve you, than another Man's Mouth will nouriſh you: This Thought may do you Service in a Morning, and help to make the Day more ſignificant. And now I think on't, don't forget what ſort of Men thoſe are which value themſelves ſo much upon the good or ill Character they give their Neighbours; one would imagine by their bragging they could govern the World with their Tongues, and talk People into what Condition they had a Mind to. But then theſe mighty Men of Satyr and Panegyrick, how ſcandalouſly do they live? How are they overgrown with Luxury and Lewdneſs? How fooliſh are their Fanſies, and how unreaſonable

their

their Fears? How much Truth do they murder with their prating; and how often do they steal from an honest Man, to make a Knave look the better? But after all they have the worst on't, by abusing that Reason which might have serv'd them to so many excellent Purposes.

XIV. He that considers that *Nature* [v] has the Disposal of all Things, will address her in this Language of Respect: *Give me what you please, and take what you please away: I'm contented.* This is the Strain of a Man bred to Sobriety and good Principles. And tho' the Expression may be extraordinary, there's not the least Tincture of Vanity in it, but it proceeds wholly from Obedience and Satisfaction.

XV. Your Time is almost over, therefore live as if you were retired in the Countrey. *Place* signifies nothing; Virtue and Philosophy will thrive every where, provided you mind your Business. Never run into a Hole and shun Company: No, let the World have the Benefit of a good Example, and look upon an honest Man; and if they don't like him, let them knock him on the Head; for 'tis much better he were serv'd so, than to live at their rate of Disorder.

XVI. Notion without Practice is Impertinence; spend no more Time then in stating the Qualifications of a Man of Virtue, but endeavour to get them.

XVII. Take the whole Bulk of *Matter*, and all the Extent of *Time* frequently into your Thoughts: And then consider that all particular Bodies are but a Grain in the Proportion of *Substance*, and but the Turning of a Wimble in respect of *Time*.

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[v] God.

XVIII. Don't

XVIII. Don't ſuffer the Appearances of Things to dazle your Sight and deceive you: Examine them cloſely, and you'll find them ready to decay and tumble. And that all Things are made as it were to be unmade again.

XIX. Conſider what an humble Figure the biggeſt People make when they are eating, ſleeping, and doing the other coarſe Work of Nature, to which they are all condemn'd! But then when they are in their Altitudes, in their Pomp, or in their Paſſion, ſtrutting or mauling their Inferiours; you would take them for another ſort of Creatures, and that they fanſy themſelves more than mortal Men! And yet how many little Maſters did they lately cringe to? how mean was their Service and their Salary? and what a ſorry Condition will they come to in a ſhort Time [w]?

XX. That's beſt for every Man which God ſends him; and the Time of his ſending too is always a Circumſtance of Advantage.

XXI. The *Earth*, as the Poet has it [x], *loves the Refreſhment of a Shower, and the Clouds when they are loaden, love to ſend it.* And the World loves to execute the Decrees of Fate; and therefore ſay I to the World [y], your Inclinations and mine ſhall always be the ſame.

XXII. Either you will take the Benefit of Cuſtom, and keep to your old Courſe of Life, or you'll ſtep farther into the World, as your Fanſy ſhall lead you, or elſe Death will give you your *Quietus eſt*; one of theſe Caſes muſt happen, therefore be not diſcouraged.

XXIII. Take it for a Rule, that Philoſophy is every where practicable; and that there's no ſuch

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[w] Either by Misfortune or Death. [x] Eurip. [y] Or Providence.

great

great Matter in Retirement. A Man may be wise and sedate in a Crowd as well as in a Desart, and keep the Noise of the World from getting within him: In this Case, as *Plato* observes [z], the *Walls of a Town, and the Inclosure of a Sheepfold, may be made the same thing.*

XXIV. How does my Mind stand affected? What Condition is my Understanding in? And to what Uses do I put it? Does not Thought and Reason run low with me? Am I not grown selfish, and broken loose from the general Interest? Is not my Soul as it were melted into my Senses, and perfectly govern'd by them?

XXV. He that runs away from his Master is a Fugitive; now the *Law* [a] is every Man's Master, and therefore he that transgresses it is a Deserter. And under this Character we may range all those that are dissatisfied with the Administration of the World; angry at what is past, and uneasy about the future: For these People, were it in their Power, would set aside that Justice which gives every one his Due, and break through the Orders of Providence.

XXVI. The Formation of the Fœtus is a great Subject for Contemplation: The first Principles of Life are extremely slender and mysterious; and yet Nature works them up into a strange Increase of Bulk, Diversity, and Proportion. And after the Birth is over, the Infant is supported by throwing a little Nourishment down the Throat on't. And here the Force and Conduct of the Operation is extraordinary. For what can be more surprizing than to see such wonderful Effects from so unpromising a Cause? To see Growth and Motion, and Strength and Beauty; all the Functions

[z] Plato Thræt. [a] The Law of Nature, or God.

and

and Force and Ornament of the Creature, ſprout out of a little Pap or Gruel? Theſe Things tho' they are wrought in the Dark, and we can't trace them with our Senſes, no more than we can the Cauſes of *Gravitation*; for all this, our Underſtandings may reach a great Way, and diſcover the Miracles of Providence, tho' not the Manner of their Performance.

XXVII. You'll do well to remember that the World is juſt as it was formerly, and will go on at the ſame rate when you are dead and gone. If you either dip into Hiſtory, or recollect your own Memory, you'll percieve the *Scenes* of Life ſtrangely Uniform, and nothing but the old *Plays* reviv'd. Take a View of the Courts of *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, of *Philip* of *Macedon* or *Cræſus*: And you'll find the Grimace and Entertainment the ſame, only the *Actors* are different.

XXVIII. He that ſtruggles with his Fortune and makes an Affliction on't, is much like a Hog that kicks and cries out when his Throat is cutting: And he that mourns privately over himſelf when he is ſick, is not much better. We ſhould conſider that we are tied to the Chains of Fate, that all Accidents are inevitable, that none but rational Creatures have the Privilege of moving freely, and making Neceſſity a Choice: All other Things are forc'd onward, and dragg'd along to their Doom.

XXIX. Conſider the Satisfactions of Life ſingly, and examine them as they come up; and then aſk your ſelf, if Death is ſuch a terrible Bugbear in taking them from you [b]?

XXX. When any Bodies Miſbehaviour diſturbs you, diſmiſs the Image of the Injury, and bethink your ſelf whether you have not been

[b] See Book 12. Sect. 31.

guilty

guilty of the same Fault: For Instance, whether you have not over-valued Money, or Pleasure, or Fame, or the like. Such Reflexions will quickly make you cool, and come to a Temper; especially if you consider the Offender was not altogether his own Man, but under the Force of some untoward Passion or other. You would do well therefore, if you can, to step in to the Rescue, and free him from the Cause of his Disorder.

XXXI. When you consider *Satyrion* the *Socratist*, think upon *Eutiches* or *Hymen*[c]; and when you remember *Euphrates*, think upon *Eutychion* or *Sylvanus*; and when *Alciphron* comes into your Head, carry your Thoughts to *Tropæophorus*; and when you are musing upon *Xenophon* or *Crito*, let *Severus* come into the Contemplation; and when you make your Self the Subject of your Meditations, bring some of the Emperours your Predecessors into your Company; and thus set the Dead and the Living of the same Character and Profession always one against another, then ask the Question, Where are those Men that made such a Figure formerly? The Answer will be, they are no where, or at least no where that I know of. Thus you'll be strongly convinc'd that Men are but Smoak and Bubbles; they vanish as they rise, and break soon after the Swelling: And this Impression will go the deeper, if you consider that what is once perish'd and sunk, will never come up again exactly[d]. As for your Share of Time; 'tis but a Moment in Comparison; why then can't you manage that little handsomly, and be satisfied? What a noble Oppor-

[c] The first proper Name throughout this Enumeration, denotes a Philosopher that lived before the Emperour's Time, the others, those who were his Contemporaries.
[d] Vid. Annot. D'Acier.

tunity

tunity of Improvement do you run away from? For what are all the Revolutions of Nature, and the Accidents of Life, but Tryals of Skill and Exercises of Reason? A wise Man that has look'd through the Causes of Things, makes but a Diversion of them. Go on then with the Theory and Practice of Philosophy, till you have digested the Subject and conquer'd the Difficulty; for I would have you be like a strong Stomach, that masters all sort of Diet, and makes Nourishment of it; or if you please, like a Fire well kindled, which catches upon every Thing you throw in, and turns it into Flame and Brightness.

XXXII. Put it out of the Power of Truth to give you an ill Character; and if any body reports you not to be an honest or a good Man, let your Practice give him the Lye: This is all very feasible; for pray who can hinder you from being Just, Sincere, and Good-natur'd, if you have a mind to it? To make all sure, you should resolve to live no longer than you can live honestly; for, in earnest, you had much better be nothing than a Knave.

XXXIII. What is it which is most proper to be said or done upon the present Occasion? That Question I confess is pertinent, but let it be what it will, I'm sure 'tis in your Power to come up to't, and therefore never pretend it impracticable. You'll never leave grumbling and growling till you have brought your Fansy to your Philosophy; till you can practise Virtue with a Gust, and make your Duty your Pleasure: And why you should not do this I can't imagine; for the Practice of Virtue is nothing but human Powers naturally set on work; 'tis only putting the Wheels in the Motion they were contriv'd for, and going just as you were made. Now Nature's Postures are always

always easy, and which is more, nothing but your own Will can put you out of them. The Motion of a Cylinder may be stopt, Fire and Water may be check'd in their Tendency, and so may any Part of the *Elementary*, *Vegetative*, and *Animal World:* In this Case a great many Obstructions may interpose. But there's nothing can block up a Soul, stop the Course of Reason, or hinder a Thought from running in the right Channel. He that considers the irresistible Liberty of the Mind, that she moves as easily as Fire does upwards, as a Stone downwards, as a Cylinder on a smooth Descent, will trouble his Head about nothing farther: For all other Impediments proceed either from the *Body*, which he looks upon rather as a Carcass than a Companion, or else they are founded in Opinion; and unless we betray our selves, and desert our Reason, can do us no manner of Mischief; otherwise, ill Fortune, as 'tis commonly call'd, would make a Body an ill Man: For all other Productions of Nature or Art, when any Harm happens to them, they are certainly the worse for't: But here a Man is the better for what he suffers; he improves his Value, and raises his Character, by making a right Use of a rugged Accident. In short, I would have you remember that no Burgher can receive any Damage by that which does not affect his Corporation; neither can the Community suffer, unless the Laws by which 'tis govern'd are broken and suffer too: But these Misfortunes, as they are call'd, don't violate the Constitution, nor break in upon the *Laws*; therefore they don't damage the *Corporation*, nor by Consequence any Member in it [e].

[e] By the City or Corporation the Emperour means the World, and by the Laws the Order and Decrees of Providence. See Book 5. Sect. 22.

XXXIV. He that's well tinctur'd with Philoſophy needs but a ſhort Receipt: A common Cordial will keep up ſuch a Man's Spirits, and expel the Cold from his Heart. A Verſe or two out of *Homer* will ſerve for a Hint, and do his Buſineſs. Let the Poet ſpeak.

Men are like Leaves in Verdure and Decay,
As Spring ſupplys what Autumn blows away,
So Mortals fade and flouriſh in their Turns [f].

You ſee how ſlenderly human Felicity is put together, your Children are but *Leaves* upon the Matter, a little Blaſt may take them from you. The freſheſt Laurels wither apace, and the Echoes of Fame are ſoon ſilenced; and which has ſome Comfort, ſo is Cenſure and Reproach too. All theſe Matters, like Leaves, have their Spring for growing, then a Puff of Wind ſends them packing, and quickly after the *Wood* is new furniſh'd again. Things are ſtrangely ſhort-liv'd, and yet your Appetites and Fears graſp and ſcamper at that rate, as if all was everlaſting. But for all your haſte your Head will be laid in a ſhort Time, and then he that is your chief Mourner will quickly want another for himſelf.

XXXV. An Eye that's ſtrong and rightly diſpos'd is indifferent to all Colours, therefore if it calls for *Greens*, 'tis a Sign 'tis weak and out of order: Thus when the Hearing and Smelling are in a good Condition, they don't pick and chuſe their Objects, but take in all manner of Scents and Sounds: Thus a ſtrong Stomach diſpatches all that comes into it, like a Mill that grinds all ſort of Grain; and thus a Mind that's Sound and Healthy is prepar'd to digeſt all ſorts of Acci-

[f] Hom. Il. E.

dents; and therefore when 'tis clamorous in such Wishes as these, *O that my Children may live and flourish; that I may be every bodies Favourite, and be commended for every Thing I do:* When the Mind, I say, is thus sickly and untoward, 'tis just like an Eye that's all for green Colours, and like a Set of Teeth that would touch nothing by their good Will but Flummery and Pudding.

XXXVI. There's no body so happy in his Family and Friends, but that some of them when they see him going will wish for a good Riddance, and almost keep a holy Day for his Death. Let him be a Person of never so much Probity and Prudence, do you think some body or other won't drop some of these Sentences over his Grave? *Well! Our Man of Order and Gravity is gone, we shall now be no more troubled with his Discipline! I can't say he was Ill-natur'd to any of us; but for all that I'm sensible he disliked our Management in his Heart.* This is the best Treatment a good Man must expect. But alas! As for our Conduct, how many Reasons will People muster up to be rid of us? If you consider this when you are dying, you'll quit with the less Reluctance. Say then to your self, "I am leaving an odd sort of World, where "the Sharers in my Fortune, and the Objects of "my Care and Kindness, those People for whom "I have drudg'd, and contriv'd, and wish'd so "heartily, count my Life no better than a Grie-"vance, and would fain be shut of me; now who "would be fond of staying in such Company any "longer? However, this Thought must not go so deep as to sour your Humour: You must keep your Temper, and part friendly with every Body; but then your good Nature must not make you hang back: For as when a Man has an easy Death, the Soul slides gently out of the Body, and takes

her

her Leave without tugging, ſo you muſt walk off handſomely, and bid the World adieu without Regret. 'Tis true, Nature has twiſted your Intereſts, and tied you together, but now ſhe looſens the Knot, and makes the Sign to diſingage. I'll part then with the World as with my Friends and Relations, but for all my Kindneſs I won't be dragg'd from them; no, Providence would have me move freely, and therefore I'll do it.

XXXVII. Let it be your conſtant Method to look into the Deſign of Peoples Actions, and ſee what they would be at, as often as 'tis practicable; And to make this Cuſtom the more ſignificant, practiſe it firſt upon your ſelf.

XXXVIII. Remember that which pulls and hales you from one Paſſion to another, is no external Force, but your Fanſy *within you*. There lies the Rhetorick that perſuades you; That's the live Thing, and to ſpeak plainly, that's the Man after all. But when you talk of a Man, I would not have you tack Fleſh and Blood to the Notion, nor thoſe Limbs neither which are made out on't; theſe are but Tools for the Soul to work with, and no more a Part of a Man, than an Axe or a Plane is a Piece of a Carpenter. 'Tis true, Nature has glew'd them together, and they grow as it were to the Soul, and there's all the Difference: But the Uſe of them depends ſolely upon the Mind; 'tis the Will that either checks or ſets them agoing. They have but the Force of Inſtruments, and ſignify no more without foreign Direction than a Shuttle, a Pen, or a Whip, which will neither weave, nor write, nor laſh the Horſes without ſome body to manage them.

BOOK XI.

I. THE Properties of a rational Soul are these. She has the Privilege to look into her own Nature, to cut out her Qualities, and form her self to what Temper she pleases: She enjoys her Product (whereas Trees and Cattle bring Plenty for other Folks.) Whether Life proves long or short, she gains the Ends of Living: Her Business is never maim'd by Interruption, as it happens in a Dance or a Play; no, she is never surpriz'd, her Performances are struck out at a Heat, and always finish'd and entire; so that she may say with Modesty enough, *I have sustain'd no Damages, but carry off all that belongs to me.* Farther, she ranges through the whole World, views its Figure, looks into the *Vacuum* on the outside on't [g], and stretches on to an unmeasurable length of Time: She contemplates the grand Revolutions of Nature, and how the *Universe* will be destroy'd [h], and renew'd at certain Periods: She considers that there will be nothing *new* for Posterity to gaze at, and that our Ancestors stood upon the same Level for Observation: That all Ages are uniform and of a Colour, in so much that in forty Years Time a tolerable Genius for Sense and Enquiry, may acquaint himself with all that's *past* and all that's *to come.* Lastly, 'Tis the Property of a rational Soul to love her Neighbours, to be remarkable for Truth and Sobriety, to prefer nothing to her own Dignity and Authority, which is likewise the Custom and Prerogative of a Law; and thus far the

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g The *Stoicks* imagin'd that on the outside of the World there was a *Void* or *Vacuum*, that is, Extension, unfurnish'd with Substance or Body. h By Conflagrations.

Quality

Quality and Measures of right Reason and publick Justice are the same.

II. The Way to despise the Pleasure of a fine Song, a well-perform'd Dance, or the olympick Exercises, is as follows: As for the Song, take the Musick in Pieces, and examine the Notes by themselves, and ask as you go along, *Is it this, or this single sound, that has subdued me?* You'll be asham'd to confess the Conquest, and so get clear of the Charm. Thus, to lessen the Diversion of Dancing, consider every Movement and Gesture apart. And this Method will hold with respect to the olympick Exercises [i]. In short, all other Entertainments but those of Virtue abate by taking them asunder, and therefore apply the Expedient to all other Parts of your Life.

III. What a brave Soul is that, that's always prepar'd to walk out of the Body, and unconcern'd about her being either extinguish'd [k], scatter'd, or remov'd? Prepared, I say, upon Judgment, and not out of mere Obstinacy, like the [l] *Christians*; to recommend the Example, this Fortitude must have nothing of Noise or Ostentation, but be carried on with a solemn Air of Gravity and Consideration.

IV. Have I oblig'd any Body, or done the World any Service? If so, the Action has rewarded me; this Answer will encourage good Nature, therefore let it always be at Hand.

V. What may your Trade or Profession be? 'Tis to live like a Man of Virtue and Probity. And how can this End be better compass'd, than by the Contemplation of the Nature of the

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[i] Boxing, Running, Wrestling, Leaping, and Playing at Quoits, *&c.* [k] Into Atomes. [l] The true Bravery of the Christians was misrepresented to the Emperour.

World, and of Mankind in particular; and the Influence the one has upon the Affairs of the other.

VI. As to Dramatick Performances, Tragedy appear'd first. The Design of them was to shew the Misfortunes of Life were customary and common. That thus the Fiction might reconcile them to the Reality; and that what diverted them upon the *Stage*, might surprize them the less when they meet with it in the *World*. Thus People see there's no living without Accidents; Mortifications, and severe ones too, will happen; Kings and Princes can't stand clear of them. And to give the Stage-Poets their Due, they have some sententious and serviceable Passages; as for Instance,

If I, and mine, are by the Gods neglected,
There's Reason for their Rigour.

Again,

Ne'er quarrel Accidents, for Things are sullen,
And don't regard your Anger;

Once more;

Fate mowes down Life like Corn, this Mortal falls,
And t'other stands a while [m].

These Instances may suffice, otherwise I might go on with them. Next to *Tragedy*, *Old Comedy* took a turn upon the *Stage*; and here Pride and Ambition was lash'd, and pointed at, with great Freedom and Authority, and not without some Success. And for this Reason *Diogenes* sometimes made use of the Poet's Discipline. You are now to observe that *Middle Commedy* succeeded to the *Old*, and the *New* to the *Middle*; this last kind sinking by Degrees to the Buffoonry of

[m] Eurip. Hypsipyl. See Book 7. Sect. 39, 41, 42.

the

the *Mimi*. 'Tis true, there are ſome uſeful Expreſſions to be met with even here; but then you are to conſider the Tendency of the whole *Poem*, and what theſe dramatick Diverſions drive at in general [n].

VII. Nothing is clearer to me than that the Principles you go upon [o] are as good a Foundation for Philoſophy and Improvement, as are to be met with in any other *Sect* whatſoever.

VIII. A Bough by being lopp'd off from another, muſt of Neceſſity be lopp'd from the whole Tree: Thus a Man that breaks with another, loſes the Benefit of the whole *Community*. 'Tis true, a Bough is lopp'd off by a foreign Hand; but this moral Amputation is all voluntary; 'tis the Man that pulls himſelf aſunder by his untoward Averſion to his Neighbour: He little thinks by this unhappy Diviſion, how he diſincorporates himſelf from the *Body* of Mankind! And here the Goodneſs of God who founded this *Society* is extraordinary. He has put it in our Power to grow to the Limb we left, and come again into the Advantage of the main Body. But if this Misfortune is often repeated, 'twill be a hard Matter to reſtore the Part, and cloſe the Diviſion. For as Gardiners obſerve, a Bough cut off and graffed in again, is not in the ſame good Condition with another which always flouriſhed upon the Trunk; for, though the firſt does not grow out of its Kind, yet it ſuffers ſomewhat in its Figure and Beauty [p].

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[n] 'Tis *D'Acier*'s Obſervation, that the Emperour condemns all ſorts of *Plays*; tho' upon the Compariſon he prefers the *Old Comedy* to the *New*, becauſe the *Old* made Inſtruction, not Pleaſure, their principal Deſign. [o] The Emperour's main Principles are the Love of God and our Neighbour. [p] See Book 5. 8. Book 8. 34.

IX. Never grow ſour upon Peoples Malice, or Impertinence: Can they beat you off your Reaſon, or ſtop your Progreſs in Virtue; not at all. Be not then diſconcerted, nor check your Goodnature towards them. If you meet with Oppoſition and Ill-will, you muſt neither be diverted nor diſturb'd, but keep your Point, and your Temper too. For as 'tis a Weakneſs to loſe your Spirits, and be thrown off your Conduct, ſo 'tis likewiſe to be angry with impertinent People: Upon the Whole; they are both a ſort of Deſerters from Providence, who are either frighten'd from their Duty, or fall out with thoſe of their own Nature and Family [q].

X. Nature falls ſhort of Art in no Inſtance, Art being but an Imitation of Nature; and if ſo, the moſt perfect and beſt furniſh'd Nature can't be ſuppos'd to work with leſs Reach than a common Artificer. Now in all Arts the *Leſs* in Value are contriv'd for the ſake of the *Greater*; this therefore is the Method of *general Nature*, or the firſt Cauſe: And upon this Ground Juſtice is founded, which conſiſts in a Regard, and Preference of Things according to their Dignity and Worth. The other Virtues are likewiſe govern'd by this Rule, and are but Acts of Juſtice differently applied. But juſt we can never be, if we are eager and anxious about external Advantages, if we are apt to be impos'd on, and grow heedleſs and inconſtant in our Motion.

XI. Averſions and Deſires are the general Occaſions of Diſturbance; now ſince the Objects of theſe Paſſions don't preſs upon you, but 'tis you that make up to them in ſome Meaſure, whereas they ſtand off, and keep their Diſtance [r]: Your

[q] See Book 2. Sect. 1. [r] See Book 5. Sect. 19. Book 9. 15.

Method

Method is therefore, to let your *Opinion* about them lie ſtill; this Suſpenſion of your Judgment will bring you towards an Indifference. And then you'll neither purſue nor avoid them any longer.

XII. The Figure of the Soul, as we may call it, is then round and uniform, when ſhe neither reaches after any Thing foreign, nor ſhrinks in, out of Cowardice and Fear: When her Superficies is thus even, the Light plays better upon her: The Proſpect of Truth and Nature is enlarg'd; and ſhe ſees the World, and her ſelf to the moſt Advantage.

XIII. Does any one deſpiſe me? What's that to me? I'll take Care not to give him any Reaſon for his Contempt. Does any one hate me? It may be ſo; I ſhan't Concern my ſelf about it. And more than that, another Man's Malice ſhall ne'er ſpoil my Temper: I'll continue kind and good humour'd to all the World, even to the Injurious Perſon himſelf. I'm always ready to ſhew him his Error, without ruffling, or making a Merit of my own Patience; but frankly, and with all the cordial Sincerity imaginable, as [s] *Phocion* ſeem'd to behave himſelf towards the *Athenians:* Indeed your Mind ſhould always be ſo diſpos'd, as to bear the narroweſt Inſpection, that the Gods may examine you with Pleaſure, and perceive that you are neither angry nor uneaſy at any thing. Now if you follow the Current of your Nature, and do a handſome Action, where's the Harm on't? What! are you unwilling to ſubmit to Providence? To comply with the Intereſt of

[s] *Phocion* at his Execution charg'd his Son not to bear a Grudge againſt the *Athenians*, for putting him to Death. *Plut.*

the *Univerſe*, when you know you were made on purpoſe for't.

XIV. People generally deſpiſe, where they flatter, and cringe to thoſe they would gladly overtop; ſo that Truth and Ceremony are two Things.

XV. How fulſome, and hollow does that Man look that cries, *I'm reſolv'd to deal clearly with you:* Heark you, Friend, what need of all this Flouriſh? Let your Actions ſpeak: To go to the Right on't, your Face ought to vouch for you, and your Sincerity be legible upon your Forehead. I would have Virtue look out of the Eye, no leſs apparently than Love does: I would have Honeſty ſo incorporated with the Conſtitution, ſo mixed up with the Blood and Spirits, that it ſhould be diſcoverable by the Senſes, and as eaſily diſtinguiſh'd as Rankneſs, or a ſtrong Breath; ſo that a Man muſt be forced to find it out whether he would or no. But on the other ſide, an Affectation of being real, is an untoward Pretence: Nothing is more ſcandalous than falſe Friendſhip, and therefore of all things avoid it. In ſhort, a Man of Integrity and Good-nature can never be conceal'd, for his Character is wrought into his Countenance.

XVI. To beſtow no more upon Objects than they deſerve, and where Things are indifferent to let our Thoughts be ſo too, is a noble Expedient for Happineſs; the Way to come up to this Indifferency, is to look through Matters, and take them quite aſſunder [t]: Remembring always, that Things can't charge into the Soul, nor force us upon any Opinions about them: They ſtand aloof, and are quiet; 'Tis our Fanſy that makes

[t] See Sect. 2.

them operate and gall us; 'Tis we that rate them and give them their Bulk and Value; and yet 'tis in our Power to let it alone; and if any falſe Colours are laid on by Surpriſe, we may rub them out if we pleaſe: We are likewiſe to conſider that this Trouble won't laſt, that Death will relieve us quickly; where then is the Difficulty of ſtanding upon our Guard a little while? If therefore your Circumſtances put you in a Way of Improvement, and there's any thing to be made out of them, bid them heartily welcome, and then your Inclination will make you eaſy: But if they prove unmanageably croſs, (which by the Way is a wrong Suppoſition,) look out for ſomething that's more ſerviceable to the Dignity of your Nature; and never let Infamy, or being unpopular, deter you from the Purſuit. For certainly every Man may take leave to make himſelf happy if he can.

XVII. Conſider the Original of all Things, the *Matter* they are made of; the Alterations they muſt run through, and the Qualities conſequent upon't; and that all this Inſtability of Nature has no manner of Harm in't.

XVIII. Concerning thoſe that offend and diſoblige you, conſider in the firſt Place, the Relation you ſtand in towards them, and that you are all made for each other. And as for your own Part, you are particularly ſet at the Head of the World; and like a Ram in a Flock, deſign'd for Defence and Protection. You may go higher in your Reaſoning if you pleaſe, and conſider that either *Chance* or *Providence* governs the *Univerſe*; if the latter, then the coarſer Parts of the Creation were made for the Service of their Betters; and theſe laſt for the Intereſt and Support of each other.

Secondly,

Secondly, consider how wretchedly they mismanage their own Business, and how far they are gone in Luxury and Libertinism; especially you should remember what strong Prejudices they lie under, how confident they are in their Mistakes, and with what Satisfaction they play the Fool.

Thirdly, Consider that if those that disoblige you are in the Right, you have no Reason to be angry; but if they are in the Wrong, 'tis because they know no better. They are under Necessity of their own Ignorance. For as all Error is involuntary; so no Body would lessen themselves so much as to miss either Honesty or good Manners, if they were rightly aware on't. And thus we see People won't endure the Charge of Avarice, Ingratitude, or Knavery, without being stung at the Imputation.

Fourthly, Don't forget you are like the rest of the World, and faulty your self in a great many Instances; that tho' you may forbear running Riot in some Cases, 'tis not for want of an Inclination: And that nothing but Cowardice, Vanity, or some such scandalous Principle, hinders you from breaking out.

Fifthly, That 'tis sometimes a hard Matter to be certain, whether you have received ill Usage or not: For Men's Actions oftentimes look worse than they are: And one must be throughly inform'd of a great many Things, before he can be rightly qualified to give Judgment in the Case.

Sixthly, When you are most angry and gall'd, remember that human Life lasts but a Moment, and that we shall all of us very quickly be laid in our Graves.

Seventhly, Consider that 'tis not other Peoples Actions, (for they are lodg'd at Home, and are neither

neither good nor bad to any, but those that do them,) which disturb us, but only our own Opinions about them. Do but then dismiss these Notions, and don't fansy the Thing a Grievance, and your Passion will cease immediately. But how can this Fansy be discharg'd? By considering that bare Suffering has nothing of Infamy or Scandal in't. Now unless you restrain the Notion of *Evil* to what is scandalous and dishonest, your own Virtue will grow precarious, and you'll be under a Necessity of doing a great many unwarrantable Things [v].

Eighthly, Consider that our Anger and Impatience often proves much more mischievous, than the Provocation could possibly have done.

Ninthly, That Gentleness and Good-humour are invincible, provided they are of the right Stamp, without any thing of Hypocrisy or Grimace. This is the Way to disarm the most Barbarous and Savage: A Constancy in obliging Behaviour, will make the most outragious Person asham'd of his Malice: The worst Body imaginable can't find in his Heart to do you any Mischief, if you continue kind and unmov'd under ill Usage, if you strike in with the right Opportunity for Advice; if when he is going to do you an ill Turn, you endeavour to recover his Understanding, and retrieve his Temper in such gentle Language as this. *Prithee, Child, be quiet, Men were never made to worry one another; in earnest if you go on, my dear Friend, you'll have the worst on't; and as for my part, I'm proof against every Thing but my own Folly.* Then proceed to illustrate the Point, and let your Arguments be general and inoffensive: Shew him that Brutes are upon

[v] See Book 9. 1.

better

better Terms than this comes to; that 'tis not the Custom of Bees to spend their Stings upon their own kind, nor of one Herd of Cattle to draw up against another. And let all this be done out of stark Love and Kindness, without any thing of bantering or biting: You must likewise stand clear of Vanity in your Address; don't seem to flourish upon the Subject, as if you were declaiming in the *Schools*, and courting the Audience for Commendation: If there is any Company, ne'er set your self off to them: But discourse him with as little straining and Affectation, as if there was no Body but himself.

Lay up these nine Heads in your Memory, with as much Care as if they were a Present from the nine *Muses:* For now 'tis high Time to begin to be a Man for your Life time. And here you must take Care to guard against Flattery, as well as Anger; for these are both unserviceable Qualities, and do a great deal of Mischief in the World. And for a farther Preservative against the latter, remember that Frowardness and Rage are Marks of an unmanly Disposition. Mildness and Temper are not only more human, but more masculine too: One thus affected appears much more brave and firm, and better fortified, than he that's fuming, and out of sorts. For Impassibility is an Argument of Greatness; and he that has the least Feeling in these Cases, has always the most Strength: On the other Hand, as Grief is a Sign of Weakness, so is Anger too; a Man is wounded in both these Passions, and the Smart is too big for him.

As you have received these nine Precepts from the *Muses*, take this Tenth if you please, from their President and Instructor *Apollo:* That to wish all People may not do ill Things is to wish an Impossibility, and no better than a Piece of

Distraction.

Distraction. But then to give them Leave to plague other Folks, and desire to be privileged your self, is a foolish and a haughty Expectation.

XIX. There are four ill Qualities we must be particularly careful to avoid[w], and pull them up as fast as we find them grow in our Heads; and undertake them as they rise in this Fashion. This Fansy (say) is groundless and unnecessary: This rough Behaviour makes *Society* and Correspondence impracticable: This t'other is but a Copy of your Countenance; you can't say it from your Heart[x]; Now this is a very bad Character. There's three of them: And whatever you are conscious degrades the diviner Part of you, makes your Mind truckle to your Body, and your Reason to your Pleasures, look upon that as the Fourth.

XX. Those Particles of Fire and Air which are lodg'd in your Body, notwithstanding their Tendency to mount, submit to the Laws of the *Universe*, stick close to your Constitution, and keep the rest of the *Elements* Company. Again, the earthly and watry Part in you, tho' they naturally press downwards, are raised above their Level, and stand pois'd in a foreign Region. Thus the *Elements* serve the Interest of the *World*; and tho' they seem to stand bent and uneasy, they keep their Post, till the Signal is given to march off and separate. And is it not then a scandalous Business that your Mind should be the only *Deserter*, and grow mutinous about her Station? Especially when her Orders agree with her Constitution, and nothing that's unnatural is enjoin'd? and yet she won't bear the Conduct

[w] *D'Acier* supposes the Empe our means Suspiciousness, ill Language, Lying, and Intemperance. [x] See Book 2. 16.

of

of her own Faculties, but runs perfectly counter to Humanity. For when a Man turns Knave, or Libertine, when he gives Way to Fears and Fits of the Spleen, he does as it were run away from himself, and desert his own Nature: And farther, when his Mind complains of his Fortune, he quits the Station in which *Providence* has placed him. For Acquiescence and Piety are no less his Duty, and his Talent too, than Honesty between Man and Man: For these Virtues carry up to the common Interest, and are rather of greater Antiquity and Value, than fair Dealing it self[y].

XXI. He that does not always drive at the same *End* will never be uniform, and of a Piece in his Conduct. But this Hint is too short, unless you describe the Quality of this Design, and what it is that we ought principally to aim at. Now as People don't agree in the Preferences of Choice, and the Notion of Advantage, unless in what relates to the *Common Good*, so a Man ought to propose the Benefit of Society and the general Interest of the World, as his main Business. For he that levels at this Mark, will keep an even Hand, and be always consistent with himself.

XXII. Remember the Story of the Countrey and City Mouse, and how pitifully the former was frightened and surpriz'd[z].

XXIII. *Socrates* us'd to say, the common Objects of Terror were nothing but Bugbears, fit only to scare Crows and Children.

XXIV. The *Lacedemonians* at their *publick Shews*, seated *Strangers* under a Canopy in the Shade, but

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[y] Piety the Foundation of Justice. [z] This Hint, I suppose, was design'd to shew the Danger of Curiosity and Appetite.

made

made their own People ſhift, and take their Convenience as they found it [a].

XXV. *Socrates* being invited to *Perdiccas*'s Court [b], made this Excuſe, I dare not come, ſays he, for fear of being put under an Incapacity of returning an Obligation, which I take to be the worſt Way of deſtroying a Man imaginable.

XXVI. 'Tis a Precept of the *Epicurean* Philoſophers, that we ſhould look back to the Virtue of former Ages, and always furniſh our Memory with ſome eminent Example.

XXVII. The *Pythagoræans* would have us look up into the Sky every Morning, to put us in mind of the Order and Conſtancy of the Heavenly Bodies, of the Equality and Perpetuity of their Motion, of the Fineneſs and Purity of their Matter, and how frankly they lie open to Obſervation; for a Star never wears a Maſk, nor puts any Cloaths on.

XXVIII. Remember how unconcernedly *Socrates* wore a Sheep-ſkin, when *Xantippe* [c] had got his Coat on, and run out with it; and how handſomely he laugh'd off the Matter to his Friends, who were ſtrangely out of Countenance by ſeeing him in ſuch a Diſguiſe.

XXIX. People don't pretend to teach others to write and read, till they have been taught themſelves: This Rule holds ſtronger in the Niceties and Importance of Life, in which no Man is fit to govern, till he has firſt learn'd to obey.

XXX. *Be dumb, Slaves han't the Privilege of ſpeaking* [d].

XXXI. *I ſmiled within my ſelf* [e].

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[a] 'Twas the Cuſtom of the *Lacedæmonians* to breed their People hardily. [b] *Seneca* reports this Invitation was made by *Archelaus* King of *Macedon*. [c] His Wife. [d] A Tragick Poet quoted by *Philo de Libert Viri boni*. [e] Hom. Odyſſ.

XXXII. *They'll treat their Parents with rebellious Language* [f].

XXXIII. He is a Madman that expects Figs on the Trees in Winter, and he is little better that calls for his Children again, when they are dead and buried.

XXXIV. *Epictetus* would have a Man, when he is kissing and caressing his Child, say to himself at the same time, *To-morrow perhaps this pretty Thing may die and leave me.* These are sour ominous Reflexions you'll say: That's your Mistake; the Consequences of Mortality, and the Course of Nature, are no ominous Things to think on, otherwise it would be an ominous Business to cut down a little Grass or Corn.

XXXV. Grapes are first sour, then ripe, then Raisins; these are all no more than bare Alterations, not into nothing, but into something which does not appear and come up at present.

XXXVI. As *Epictetus* observes, no body can rob another of his *Will*, nor by Consequence make Seizure of his Virtue.

XXXVII. The same Philosopher has taught us the Art of managing our *Assent*, and preventing our *Reason* from being impos'd on; that we should enterprize with a Reserve for Disappointment; that our Inclinations should be generous and benevolent, and proportion'd to the Merit and Dignity of Things; that we must keep our Desires from being headstrong and unruly in all Cases; and never have an Aversion for any Thing which 'tis out of our Power to hinder.

XXXVIII. Therefore, as *Epictetus* observes, the Contest is no Trifle, but whether we are to live in our Wits, or out of them [g].

[f] Hesiod. Oper. lib. 1. ℣. 184. These Shreds of Poetry seem to be set down by the Emperour as Hints for farther Meditation. *Gatak.* [g] The *Stoicks* reckon'd all People Madmen that did not live up to the Precepts of Virtue and Philosophy.

XXXIX. 'Tis

XXXIX. 'Tis a Saying of *Socrates* to ſome untoward People; "What would you be at? "Would you have the Soul of a Man or of a "Beaſt in you? Of a Man without all Doubt: "Of what Sort of Men, of thoſe that uſe their "Reaſon, or thoſe that abuſe it? Of the firſt you "may be ſure. Why then, continues the Philo- "ſopher, don't you look out for this Privilege? "Becauſe we have it already. What makes you "then diſagree, and fall foul upon each other?

BOOK XII.

I. ALL thoſe Things you drudge and range ſo much Ground for, you may have at your Eaſe, unleſs you are afraid of making your ſelf too happy. Your Method to do your Buſineſs is not to concern your ſelf about the Time *paſt*, for that is never to be recover'd; to reſt the *future* with *Providence*, and only ſtick to the *preſent*, and improve that to all the noble Purpoſes of Piety and Juſtice. The pious Part will be diſcharg'd by being contented with your Fate; and why ſhould you not, ſince *Nature* made you for each other [h]? And as to the Obligations of *Juſtice*, you'll acquit your ſelf here, provided you ſpeak Truth boldly, and above board, and make Law and the Dignity of Things your Rule to act by. When you are not to be check'd in your Progreſs, by the Miſbehaviour, the Ignorance, and impertinent Reports of other People, nor yet by the Senſe and Sufferings of your own Carcaſs; tho' by the Way 'tis a Queſtion whether it ſuffers or not [i]. To go on; If, ſince your Life is almoſt

[h] See Book 5. Sect. 8. [i] See Book 7. Sect. 16, 18.

up, you lay aſide all other Matters, and only cultivate your Mind, and pay a Regard to the governing and diviner Part of your ſelf: If you are not at all afraid of loſing your Life, but of miſſing the Ends on't, and not living as you ſhould do, then you'll act ſuitably to your Extraction, and deſerve to have the Deity for your Maker; then you'll be no longer a Stranger in your own Country, nor be ſurpriz'd at common Accidents; you'll ne'er be anxious about the *future*, nor ſtand to the Courteſy of Events.

II. The Almighty ſees thro' the Soul of every Man, as clearly as if it was not wrapt up in *Matter*, or had any thing of the Shrow'd and Coarſneſs of Body about it. And God being a Spirit, acts only as ſuch, and concerns himſelf for no other Beings, but thoſe of his own Nature. Now, if you would learn to do thus, a great deal of Trouble would be ſav'd; for he that can overlook his Limbs, and make his Carcaſs ſit looſe about him, will hardly diſturb himſelf about the Houſe he dwells in; about his Equipage or Reputation, or any Part of the Furniture and Magnificence of a Figure.

III. You conſiſt of three Parts, your Body, your Breath [h], and your Mind; the two firſt are yours to take Care of, but the latter is properly your Perſon: Therefore if you abſtract from the Notion of your ſelf, that is, of your Mind, whatever other People either ſay or do, or whatever you may have ſaid or done your ſelf formerly, together with all that which diſturbs you under the Conſideration of its coming to paſs hereafter; if you throw the neceſſary Motions of your Carcaſs out of the Definition, and thoſe of the *Vortex* that

[h] See Book 2. Sect. 2.

whirls about you, and by this Means preſerve your rational Faculties in an independent State of Innocence, free from Force and Infection; holding cloſe and ſteddy to the Virtues of Juſtice, Truth, and Acquieſcence; if, I ſay, you keep your Mind ſeparate and diſtinguiſh'd from the Objects of Appetite, and the Appendages of Time, both *paſt* and *future*, and make your ſelf like *Empedocles*'s World,

Round as a Ball, and ſpinning on your Axis [i].

And concern your ſelf to live no longer than your Life-time, that is, the *preſent Moment* [k]; if you do all this, you may move on, till Death ſtops you with Credit and Satisfaction.

IV. I have often wonder'd how it comes to paſs that every body ſhould love themſelves beſt, and yet value their Neighbours Opinion about themſelves more than their own. Therefore if any God, or eminent Inſtructer in Philoſophy, ſhould ſtand at a Man's Elbow, and order him to turn his Inſide outwards, and publiſh every Thought and Fanſy as faſt as they came into his Head, he'd think it a hard Chapter, and not ſubmit ſo much as to a Day's Diſcipline. Thus we ſtand more in Awe of Fame than Conſcience, and regard other Peoples Judgments above our own!

V. How comes it about, that ſince the Gods have contriv'd all Things ſo well, and ſo much to the Benefit of Mankind, they ſhould overlook this Particular, and ſuffer Men of great Virtue and Merit, who by their Piety and Devotion were, as it were, the Domeſticks of the Powers above, and kept always a Correſpondence with Heaven; that they ſhould ſuffer ſuch Men, I ſay, to be fi-

[i] Turning upon your Reaſon. [k] See Book 2. 14.

nally extinguish'd by Death, and not give them their Being again? Now, if the Case stands thus, you may be assur'd, had it been proper, the Gods would have order'd it otherwise; for had it been reasonable, it would have been possible: Nature [l] would certainly have brought it forth, if it had been suitable to her Perfections. Therefore from its not being Matter of Fact, if indeed it is not, you may undoubtedly conclude, it ought not to be so; for, don't you perceive that in reasoning this Point you dispute the Administration of *Providence:* Now, if the Justice and Goodness of the Gods were not extraordinary, this Liberty would not be allow'd, neither would you presume so far if you thought otherwise: But if they have these Perfections, they'll never neglect their Affairs, nor blemish their World with any Thing that's unreasonable or unjust.

VI. Accustom your self to master Things of the greatest Difficulty, and which you seem to despair of; for if you observe, the Left-hand, though, for want of Practice, 'tis insignificant to other Business, yet it holds the Bridle better than the Right, because it has been used to it.

VII. Consider what Death will make of you, both as to Body and Mind; recollect the shortness of Life, the unmeasurable Extent of Time both *past* and *future*, and how slenderly all Things are put together.

VIII. Let it be your Method to contemplate Spirits apart from their Bodies, for these are no better than the Shell they are shut up in: Mind the Aim and the End of Peoples Actions; examine the Value of Fame, the Force of Pain, the Ascendant of Pleasure [m], and see what Death

[l] God. [m] See Book 7. 33. Book 5. 26.

amounts

amounts to: Consider upon what Account a Man grows troublesome to himself [n], that no body can be hinder'd by another; and that Opinion is the main Thing which does Good or Harm in the World.

IX. We must manage the Precepts of Philosophy like those that wrestle and box in the *Circus*, and not like a *Gladiator*; for your *Fencer* if he drops his Sword is hewn down immediately, but the other that makes Weapons of his Limbs has them always about him, and has nothing to do but to keep his Hands and Feet stirring.

X. Be not satisfied with a superficial View, but penetrate the Nature and Quality of Things; and to this Purpose you must divide them into *Matter* and *Form* [o], and enquire into the End they were made for.

XI. What a mighty Privilege is a Man born to, since 'tis in his Power not to do any Thing, but what God Almighty approves, and to be satisfied with all the Distributions of *Providence*.

XII. When Things follow from the Course and Constitution of Nature, we ought not to murmur at it: Not against the Gods, for they have neither Ill-will nor Impotence, and by Consequence can do nothing amiss; nor yet against Men, for their Misbehaviour is all involuntary [p], therefore we must complain of no body.

XIII. How unacquainted is that Man with the World, and how ridiculous does he appear that makes a Wonder of any Thing he meets with here!

XIV. Either the Order of Things are fixt by irrevocable Fate, or *Providence* may be work'd

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[n] See Book 9. 26. [o] See Book 2. Sect. 12. Book 4. 21. Book 7. 29. [p] See Book 7. Sect. 63, 64.

into Compaſſion, or elſe the World floats at random without any Steerage. Now, if Nature lies under an immovable Neceſſity, to what Purpoſe ſhould you ſtruggle againſt it? If the Favour of *Providence* is to be gain'd, qualify your ſelf for the Divine Aſſiſtance; but if Chance and Confuſion carry it, and no body ſits at the Helm, be you contented, and ride out the Storm patiently, for you have a Governour within you [9], tho' the World has none: And if the Waves run too high, let them roll off your Carcaſs and your Fortune, but there's no Neceſſity your Mind ſhould be driven with them.

XV. A Lamp, unleſs you put it out, holds its Light, and ſhines without Interruption; and, can you find in your Heart to ſee your Honeſty ſink in the Socket, to out-laſt your Sobriety, and let your Virtue be extinguiſh'd before you?

XVI. When you fanſy any one has tranſgreſs'd, ſay this to your ſelf: How do I know 'tis a Fault? And granting it is, it may be his Conſcience has corrected him; and if ſo, he has given himſelf a ſour Box on the Ear. Beſides, you are to remember, that to wiſh an ill Man ſhould not do amiſs, is juſt as wiſe as it would be to deſire an unripe Fig ſhould not taſte of the Tree; that Children ſhould not ſquaul in the Cradle, nor Horſes neigh, nor a great many other Things act according to the Neceſſity of their Condition. Pray, how would you have a Man of ſuch an unfortunate Diſpoſition behave himſelf? If you believe the Caſe may be remedied, and are ſuch a Doctor at his Diſeaſe, do ſo much as cure him.

XVII. If 'tis not decent, never do it; if 'tis not true, never ſpeak it; let this always be your Rule.

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[9] Your Reaſon.

XVIII. Look

XVIII. Look always nicely into whatever makes an Impreſſion upon your Mind; diſtinguiſh it into *Matter* and *Form*; find out the Purpoſe and Deſign for which it was contriv'd, and the Period of Time too, beyond which 'tis unlikely to continue.

XIX. Conſider, for 'tis high Time, that you have ſomething more Divine in you than the *Mechaniſm* of Paſſion, than the Wires and Tackling of a Poppet. What then is my Soul made of? Is it Fear, or Jealouſy, or Luſt? Or any Thing of this coarſe Nature? Certainly no.

XX. Take Care never to do any Thing without Thought and Deſign, nor for any other End neither, but what may be ſerviceable to the Intereſt of *Society* [r].

XXI. Conſider, that in a little Time you'll neither have Place nor Being, that your Contemporaries will have the ſame Fate, and the preſent Scene of Nature be ſhut up; for all Things change of Courſe, and wither and drop in Pieces, that new ones may be made out of them.

XXII. Thoughts are, in a great Meaſure, Maſters of Things, and, which is more, 'tis in your own Power to think as you pleaſe; therefore don't ſuffer *Opinion* to cheat you any longer. Diſengage from the Tyranny of Fanſy, and then, as if you doubled ſome dangerous *Cape*, you'll have nothing but a ſteddy Courſe, a ſmooth Sea, and a Land-lock'd Bay to receive you.

XXIII. Every Operation that ceaſes in due Time, ſuffers nothing by breaking off; neither does the Agent receive any Harm upon this Score. Thus Life, which is nothing but a Series and Continuation of Action, comes to no Damages

[r] That is, of Mankind in general.

by

by having a ſeaſonable Period put to it; neither does he that lays this Motion aſleep, ſuſtain any Loſs, provided 'tis done at a proper Juncture. Now, Nature aſſigns the Term, and ſets out the Bounds of Life; ſometimes this Period is fix'd by particular Nature or Force of Conſtitution, as it happens when a Man dies of Old-age; but let it come late or early, *Common Nature* [s] has certainly a Hand in't. And thus the Parts of Nature changing from one Form to another, preſerve the World in perpetual Youth and Vigour: Now, that is always as it ſhould be, both as to Time and Quality, which makes for the Service of the *Univerſe* [t]. From hence it follows, that bare Dying can be no real Evil, ſeeing there's nothing of Baſeneſs or Moral Turpitude in't; for 'tis both involuntary with reſpect to our ſelves, and ſerviceable to the general Intereſt; therefore there can be nothing of Scandal in it: Nay, 'tis certainly a good Thing, ſince 'tis ſuitable and ſeaſonable for the *Univerſe*. And thus a Man that goes off ſmoothly, is as it were carried out of the World by Inſpiration: For he that follows the Deity with his Motions, and with his Will too, ſeems actuated by a Divine Impreſſion.

XXIV. Let theſe three Hints lie ready for Service. Firſt, As to your own Actions, let nothing be done raſhly, nor to no Purpoſe, nor indeed in any other Manner than *Juſtice* her ſelf would have order'd it: And as for Caſualties and the State of your Fortune; conſider that they are the blind Diſtributions of *Chance*, or elſe the Appointment of *Providence*. Now, either to murmur againſt *Chance*, or impeach *Providence*, is extreamly abſurd. Secondly, Conſider what a ſlight

[s] God. [t] See Book 4. Sect. 23. Book 5. Sect. 8.

Thing

Thing Man is, from his Conception to his Birth or Animation [v]; and from his first Breath to his last, in the Parts of his Composition, and in the State of his Dissolution. Thirdly, Consider, that if you could shoot your self at pleasure into the Sky, and thence take a View of human Affairs, you would perceive a strange Medley of Humour and Condition; and discover at the same Time the Air and *Æther* too plentifully stock'd with Inhabitants [w], and that if you mounted never so often, you'd have the old Prospect: Alas! Things are generally of the same Complexion, and of the same short Continuance too, and yet how strangely we are conceited of them!

XXV. Discharge *Opinion* [x], and you are safe; and pray who can hinder you from doing it?

XXVI. When you are uneasy upon any Account, you seem to forget that all Things fall out according to the good Pleasure of *Providence*, and that another Man's Fault is no Concern of yours; that what you reckon Grievances is nothing but the old Way of the World, and will come over again when you are dead and gone, and are *now* to be met with in a thousand Places: You have forgotten that all Mankind are of Kin; for tho' they may be unallied in Flesh and Blood, their *Understandings* are all of the same Family: You don't remember that every Man's Soul is a Portion of the Deity, and deriv'd from thence; that we have nothing properly our own, but that our Children, our Bodies, and our Breath, are all

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[v] The *Stoicks* believ'd a human *Fœtus* not animated till the Time of Birth. *Tertull. de Anim.*

[w] 'Twas the Opinion of the *Platonists* and *Stoicks*, that the Air and Sky was inhabited by Spirits suitable to the respective Regions.

[x] *Opinion* is a common, but false Notion of Things.

borrow'd

borrow'd from Heaven; that *Opinion* governs all, and Things are only as you think them; and that 'tis not poſſible for any body to live or loſe any more than the *preſent* Moment: All this you ſeem to have forgotten.

XXVII. Reflect frequently upon thoſe that have formerly been mightily diſturb'd with Accidents of any Kind; that have carried their Animoſities and Feuds to the moſt flaming Exceſs; that have made the moſt glorious Figure, or met with the greateſt Misfortune; and then aſk your ſelf, *Where are they all now?* They are vaniſh'd like a little Smoke; they're ſhrunk within the Compaſs of an *Urn*, and are nothing but *Aſhes* and *Romance* [y], and it may be have not ſo much as the laſt imaginary Advantage neither. Recollect likewiſe all that Humour and Oddneſs that ſome People affect, to appear as *Fabius Catullinus* did at his Countrey-Seat, as *Lucius Lupus* and *Stertinius* did at *Baiæ*, to act the Fanſy of *Vertius Rufus*, or the Liberties of *Tiberius* at *Capreæ*; thus People dote upon Figure and Singularity, though 'tis ſometimes in Lewdneſs [z]; but granting 'tis ſomewhat better, the Prize is inſignificant, and the Play not worth the Candle: 'Tis much more becoming a Philoſopher to ſtand clear of Affectation; to be Honeſt and Regular upon all Occaſions, and to follow chearfully where-ever the Gods lead on: As for Pretence and Hypocriſy, 'tis all Stuff; for nothing is more ſcandalous than a Man that is proud of his Humility.

XXVIII. To thoſe that aſk me the Reaſon of my being ſo earneſt in religious Worſhip: Did I ever ſee any of the Gods? Or, Which Way am I convinc'd of the Certainty of their Exiſtence? In

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y See Book 8. Sect. 25. z That of *Tiberius* was ſuch.

the

the first Place I answer, that the Gods are not invisible [a]; but granting they were, the Objection would signify nothing: For I never had a Sight of my own Soul, and yet I have a great Value for't, because 'tis discoverable by its Operations. And thus by my constant Experience of the Power of the Gods, I have a Proof of their Being, and a Reason for my Veneration.

XXIX. The best Provision for a happy Life, is to dissect every Thing, view it on all Sides, and divide it into *Matter* and *Form*. To practise Honesty in good earnest, and speak Truth from the very Soul of you: And when you have done this, live easy and chearful, and crowd one good Action so close to another, that there may not be the least empty or insignificant Space between them.

XXX. The Light of the Sun is but one and the same, though 'tis divided by the Interposition of Walls and Mountains, and abundance of other Opaque Bodies. There's but one *common Matter* for *Corporeity*, though 'tis parcell'd out among Bodies of different Qualities: There is but one *sensitive Soul* neither, notwithstanding it has peculiar Conveyances, runs in innumerable Channels, and supplies a vast Number of Animals distinct from each other. And lastly, the *rational Soul*, though it seems to be split into Distinction, is but one and the same [b]. Now, excepting this last, the Parts of the other Species of *Form* [c] and

[a] The Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, were Gods in the Opinion of the *Stoicks*. [b] The *Stoicks* held the rational Soul a Part of the Deity. [c] By *Form* in rational Creatures the Emperour seems to mean the Mind, in Animals the sensitive Soul, in Vegetables and inanimate Things the Principle of Union, which supports them in their Distinction, and tacks their Being together. *D'Acier.*

Matter,

Matter, tho' without Apprehenſion or any common Affection to tie them to each other, are yet upheld by an *intelligent Being*, and by that Faculty which puſhes Things of the ſame Nature to the ſame Place: But humane Underſtandings have a peculiar Diſpoſition to Correſpondence; they ſtick together by Inclination, and nothing can extinguiſh ſuch ſociable Thoughts in them.

XXXI. What is it you hanker after? Is it bare Exiſtence? Or Senſation? Or Motion? Or Strength, that you may loſe it again in Decay? What! Is it the Privilege of Speech, or the Power of Thinking in general? Is any of this Furniture big enough for Deſire? If all theſe Things are Trifles upon the Matter, proceed to ſomething that's worth your while; and that is, to be govern'd by Reaſon and the Deity. And yet you can't be ſaid to value theſe laſt mention'd Privileges rightly neither, if you are diſturb'd becauſe Death muſt take them from you [d].

XXXII. What a ſmall Part of unmeaſurable Time falls to the Share of a ſingle Mortal, and how ſoon is every one ſwallow'd up in Eternity? What a Handful of the *univerſal Matter* goes to the making a humane Body, and what a very little of the *univerſal Soul* too [e], to raiſe it into an Animal? And on what a narrow Clod, with reſpect to the whole Earth, do you crawl upon? Conſider all this, and reckon nothing great, unleſs it be to *act* in Conformity to your own Reaſon, and to *ſuffer* as the Almighty ſhall appoint you.

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[d] See Book 9. Sect. 1. Book 10. Sect. 28. [e] The Emperour means the ſenſitive or vital Soul, as the *Stoicks* call'd it.

XXXIII. The great Buſineſs of a Man is to improve his Mind, and govern his Manners; this is minding the main Chance. As for all other Projects and Purſuits, whether in our Power to compaſs or not, they are no better than Trifling and Amuſement.

XXXIV. We can't have a more lively and promiſing Notion, to ſet us above the Fear of Death, than to conſider that it has been deſpis'd even by that Sect [f] who made Pleaſure and Pain the Standard of Good and Evil.

XXXV. He that likes no Time ſo well as that fixt by *Providence*, he that's indifferent whether he has room for a long Progreſs in Reaſon and Regularity or not [g], or whether he has a few or a great many Years to view the World in; a Perſon thus qualified will never be afraid of dying.

XXXVI. Hark ye, Friend, you have been a Burgher of this *great City* [h]; what's matter tho' you have liv'd in't but a few Years; if you have obſerv'd the Laws of the *Corporation*, the length or ſhortneſs of the Time makes no Difference. Where's the Hardſhip then, if *Providence*, that planted you here, orders your Removal? You can't ſay you are ſent off by a tyrannical and unrighteous Sentence; no, you quit the Stage as fairly as a *Player* does, that has his Diſcharge from the *Maſter of the Revels:* But I have only gone through three *Acts*, and not held out to the End of the *Fifth*. You ſay well; but in Life three *Acts* makes the *Play* entire. He that appoints the Entertainment is the beſt Judge of the length

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[f] The *Epicureans*. [g] See Book 11. Sect. 1. [h] The World.

on't;

on't; and as he order'd the opening of the firſt *Scene*, ſo now he gives the Sign for ſhutting up the laſt: You are neither accountable for one or t'other; therefore retire in good Humour, for he by whom you are diſmiſs'd means you no Harm.

The End of the Twelve Books of the Emperour ANTONINUS.

THE

Mythological Picture

OF

CEBES

THE

THEBAN.

Being a ſerviceable EMBLEM for the acquiring of Prudence, and the Direction of Human Life.

AS we were taking a Turn in *Saturn*'s Temple, we ſaw a great many conſecrated *Preſents*, remarkable enough for their Curioſity; amongſt the reſt we took particular Notice of a Picture hung over the Door: The Piece we perceiv'd was all Emblem and Mythology; but then the Repreſentation was ſo ſingular and out of Cuſtom, that we were perfectly at a Loſs whence it

ſhould come, and what was the Meaning on't. Upon a ſtrict View we found 'twas neither a City nor a Camp, but a ſort of Court, with two Partitions of the ſame Figure within it, tho' one of them was larger than the other. The firſt Court had a Crowd of People at the Gate, and within we ſaw a great Company of Women. Juſt at the Entrance of the firſt Gate there ſtood an old Man, who by his Geſture and Countenance ſeem'd to be buſy in giving Advice to the Crowd as they came in.

And being a long Time at a ſtand about the Deſign of the *Fable*, a grave Man, ſomewhat in Years, making up, begins to diſcourſe us in this Manner. Gentlemen, ſays he, I underſtand you are Strangers, and therefore 'tis no Wonder the Hiſtory of this Picture ſhould puzzle you; for there are not many of our own Countrey-men that can explain it. For you are to obſerve, this is none of our Town Manufacture: But a long while ago a certain out-landiſh Man of great Senſe and Learning, and who by his Diſcourſe and Behaviour ſeem'd to be a Diſciple of *Pythagoras* and *Parmenides*; this Gentleman, I ſay, happening to travel hither, built this Structure, and dedicated both the Temple and this Piece of Painting to *Saturn*. Sir, ſaid I, had you any Acquaintance with this Gentleman? Yes, ſays he, I had the Benefit of his Converſation, and was one of his Admirers a long time: For, to my thinking, tho' he was but young, he talk'd at a ſtrange ſignificant rate; and as for this *Picture*, I have heard him expound the *Emblem*, and read upon the Argument very frequently. Sir, ſaid I, unleſs you are very buſy, I beg of you to inſtruct us a little in this Matter, for we are ſtrangely deſirous to know the Meaning of this *Fable in Colours*. Gentlemen,

tlemen, says he, I'm very ready to serve you, but then, I must tell you, there is some Danger in hearing the Story. Danger! As how? Why, says he, if you mind what you are about, and understand what's deliver'd, you'll grow unexpectedly Wise and Happy upon the Discourse; but otherwise, to be free with you, you'll turn Ignorant and Ill-natur'd, and be the most unfortunate Blockheads imaginable. For the explaining this *Mythology* is as touchy a Business to the Audience, as the *Sphinx*'s Riddle was formerly: If a Man was an *Œdipus* at it, he found his Account in the Undertaking; but if the Mystery prov'd too hard for him, he was lost, and murther'd by the Monster upon the spot. The Consequence of the present Case is much the same, for Folly is a sort of *Sphinx* to Mankind in general, and gives an obscure Intimation of what's good and bad, or indifferent for us: If a Man can't look thro' her, and untie her Riddle, tho' she does not chop him up at a Mouthful, like the *Sphinx*, yet she will be sure to dispatch him by Degrees, sit as close to him as a Consumption, and ride him as the Spleen does a Malefactor under *Sentence*. But on the other hand, when *Folly* is understood, then she goes to pot her self, and the Man is made safe and happy for his Life-time; therefore pray take Care, and be attentive, and let nothing slip your Observation. In earnest, if the Matter stands thus, you make us almost Wild to hear you upon this extraordinary Subject. 'Tis just as I tell you. Well, said I, if we are likely to smart at this rate for being careless, you'll be sure to find us upon our Guard, and therefore begin as soon as you please.

Upon this, pointing to the Picture with his Cane, do you see this Inclosure or Court, says he? Yes. This then, you are to understand, is Life,

and the Place for Mortals to range in. The Crowd at the Gate are the People that are juſt coming into the World; and the old Man that ſtands by on rais'd Ground, with a *Paper* in one Hand, and the other in a Poſture of Direction, is the common *Genius*. This ſuperintending Spirit inſtructs thoſe that enter, how they are to manage themſelves in *Life*, and which Road they are to take, if they expect to come ſafe to the end of their Journey. And pray, ſaid I, which Way does he direct them, and how are they to govern themſelves? Don't you ſee, ſays he, there by the Gate where the Crowd goes in, a Woman ſitting in an arm'd Chair handſomly dreſs'd, and with a Mien of Quality? I ſee her with a Glaſs in her Hand: Pray who is ſhe? That's *Impoſture*, ſays he, that bubbles the whole World in ſome Meaſure out of their Underſtandings. Say you ſo? Which Way does ſhe go to work? She opens a Vein, and gives them a Glaſs of her Conſtitution. What ſort of Drink is that? 'Tis *Ignorance* and *Miſtake*. What is to be done then? Why, when they have taken this Stirrup Cup, they travel into *Life*. What! Does every body take their Morning's Draught of this Liquor? Every body, but not all Brimmers; ſome drink more, and ſome leſs. To inform you farther, don't you ſee a Parcel of *Wenches* within the Gate, different enough in their Perſons, but all of them with the bold Air of their Profeſſion? I ſee them. Very well: If you would know their Names then, they are *Opinion*, *Paſſion*, and *Pleaſure*. As the Crowd enters, theſe Laſſes friſk about them, and ſalute them with a great deal of Welcome, and then lug them off. And whither do they carry them? Carry them! Some to good Fortune, and ſome, by miſtaking their Way, to Ruin and the Gallows.

In

In earneſt, Sir, ſaid I, if the Caſe ſtands thus, 'tis dangerous drinking! You ſay well; and yet all theſe Women promiſe to direct them right, and to make them as conſiderable and happy as they would wiſh. But the poor Wretches having taken a Glaſs too much with *Impoſture*, are ſo muddy-headed that they over-look their Advantage, and miſtake their Ground, and ramble about at that ſenſeleſs giddy rate as you ſee: And look you, continues he, how thoſe Gypſies manage the People that came in firſt, and lead them whither they have a mind to. I perceive it, ſaid I; but pray what blind diſtracted Woman is that which ſtands there upon a round Stone like a Globe? That's *Fortune*, replies my Inſtructer, who is not only blind, but mad and deaf into the Bargain. And what may her Buſineſs be, I beſeech you? She ranges every where, ſays he, ſnatches away this Man's Circumſtances, and gives them to another; and in a little while recalling her Liberalities, beſtows them upon new Favourites, and all with great Arbitrarineſs and Inconſtancy: And therefore her Pedeſtal and her Poſture is a good Emblem of her Nature. How ſo? Becauſe, ſays he, her ſtanding upon a Globe ſhews her Feet not well fix'd, and that there's no depending upon her Bounty. Indeed, thoſe that reckon upon her are generally ruffled with Diſappointment, and mightily ſhock'd in their Expectation. Here I deſir'd to know, what was the Buſineſs of all that Crowd about her, and who they were? I was anſwer'd, they were a Clan of unthinking People, and all of them making their Application to Fortune for thoſe Things ſhe threw away. Very well: But how comes it to paſs that they appear ſo differently affected in their Countenances, that ſome of them are all in an Extaſy,

and others as much out of Sorts, and wringing their Hands in Despair? Those, says he, who seem so merry and well pleas'd, have receiv'd a Spill, and sped in their Addresses to this Lady, and therefore they call her *Good Fortune:* But the others who weep and wring their Hands, are disseiz'd by her of what she had granted them before, and here her Title is *Bad Fortune.* What sort of Favour does she bestow then, that makes her command the Temper, and dispose of the Passions of her Admirers in so sovereign a Manner? To answer you, says he, her Bounty consists of such Things as are generally esteem'd great Advantages. What are those? They are Wealth, Fame, Birth, Children, Posts of Command, Crowns, *&c.* 'Tis very well! And are not all these good Things with a witness? As to that, says he, we'll debate it afterwards, but at present let's go on with our *Story.* With all my Heart. Do you see then, continues the Gentleman, how the Passage through this Gate leads you into another Court upon an Ascent, and that there are several Women dress'd like Wenches standing at the Portal? I see them. I must tell you then, their Quality is very coarse; two of them are *Lewdness* and *Luxury*, and the other *Flattery* and *Covetousness.* And what do they stand staring here for? To spy out those to whom *Fortune* has been any thing kind. And what then? Then they appear mightily transported, make up to them with great Endearingness, and ply them strongly with Compliment and Flattery: They invite them to their Apartments, promise to settle them in Satisfaction, and that without the least Intermission or Incumbrance whatsoever. Now those who are gain'd to Libertinism with this Courtship, think themselves in a delicate Way, and are strangely pleas'd with their Choice at first.

But

But after ſome time, when they begin to recollect, they perceive the Entertainment was nothing but a viſionary Cheat, and inſtead of a Regale, they have been prey'd upon and ill uſed. Now, when Men come to this paſs, and have ſpent all that *Fortune* had furniſh'd them with, they are forced to go to Service to theſe Women; and here all manner of Affronts and ſcandalous Practices muſt be digeſted; they muſt bear with every Thing, and boggle at nothing; they muſt cheat, or betray their Truſt, pick a Pocket, or rob a Church, as Occaſion ſerves. And when all theſe Tricks fail them, they are ſent to the Houſe of Correction. And how are they handled? Don't you ſee, ſays he, a little Door opening into a narrow dark Place? I do; and ſeveral ugly ſluttiſh Women in Rags are the Inhabitants. You are right. And to deſcribe them to you; ſhe with the Whip in her Hand is call'd *Diſcipline*; ſhe with her Head bending down to her Knees is *Grief*; ſhe that tears her Hair is *Pain*. But pray, ſaid I, what ill-look'd Skeleton of a Fellow is that, with ne'er a Tatter to his Limbs, and that Woman too by him, that's Beauty enough to be his Siſter? You have gueſs'd the Relation exactly, and to ſatisfy your Queſtion, the Man is *complaining Sorrow*, and that Siſter of his is *Deſpair*. To this Company the *Rakes* above-mention'd are ſent, where they are maul'd and mortified ſufficiently; and after they have gone through their Exerciſe in this *Bridewell*, they are committed to Goal, where *Unhappineſs* is their *Keeper:* And here they are faſt for their Life-time, unleſs they happen to light upon *Repentance*. If *Fortune* ſends this Lady to any one of them, ſhe diſengages him from his Confinement, and gives him a new Set of *Notions* and *Deſires*, which puts him in the Road to *true*

Knowledge: However, the Direction is not so infallible but that 'tis possible for him to miss the Way, and make a Visit to *pretended Learning*. And what follows? Why, says he, if he travels right, and comes to the Seat of *true Knowledge*, she does his Business effectually; she purges his Head, and cures his Spleen, and makes him easy and prosperous as long as he lives: But if he mistakes the Road, *pretended Learning* picks him up, and leads him a new Dance. O strange! said I, here's another great Risque to be run: But, I beg of you, what sort of Mortal is this *pretended Learning?* Don't you see, replies my Instructer, that farther Court? Yes, very plainly. And don't you perceive a Woman in the Porch genteelly dress'd, and with an Air of Sobriety? That I do: To inform you then, the Generality are so ignorant as to mistake this Gentlewoman for *Learning*, whereas she is really but a Counterfeit of that Quality. Now, those who are upon the Road to *Recovery* and *true Knowledge*, commonly bait with her first. And is there no other Way to *true Knowledge* but this? Yes, there is. Here I put in again, and ask'd him, who are those Men that walk within the Court there? These, says he, are the Admirers of *pretended Learning*, only they mistake the Person of their Mistress, and fansy themselves in the Conversation of *true Knowledge*. Pray, who are they? Here's a great many sorts of them, says he; here are Poets, Orators, and Logicians; Musick Masters, Accomptants, Mathematicians, and Astrologers; Epicureans, Peripateticks, Philologers, *&c.* But, under Favour, methinks I see some Women like *Debauchery*, and the rest of her Companions which you shew'd me before; pray who are they? The very same. What! Do they walk in this inner Court? As sure as you live, some-

times,

times, though not so often as in the first. And does Fansy and uncertain Opinion take a Turn here too? Most undoubtedly, says he; and which is more, these Sparks being not recover'd of the Dose which *Imposture* gave them, they are troubled with the Company of *Ignorance* and *Folly*. Neither will they ever be rid of *Opinion* and the rest of the Gang, till they part with *pretended Learning*, enter into a Course of Physick, and purge off all their Conceit, Ignorance, and ill Humours: Then their Condition will be secure. But as long as *pretended Learning* has the Ascendant over them, they'll ne'er be disentangled; neither will all their Notions and Proficiency ever cure them of any of the Distempers above-mention'd. Say you so: Which is the Way then that leads to the Seat of *true Knowledge?* If you mind, says he, you'll perceive an Eminence at a distance, which looks as if 'twas perfectly uninhabited. I have it. And don't you see a little Gate, and the Avenues to it very much unfrequented; for indeed the Ascent to it is troublesome, and the Way rough and rocky? I perceive it, said I. Does it not then appear a lofty Hill, with a very narrow Way to't, and Precipices on each side? Yes, the Prospect is just as you say. This is the Road to *true Knowledge*, says he, and on my Word a very rugged one to look on. But let's proceed. Don't you observe two hail lusty Women stand on the top of the Ascent, and stretching out their Hands with a great deal of Inclination? I see them; who are they? They are Sisters, says he; one of them is *Temperance*, and t'other *Patience*. Good Women both: But what makes them sprawl their Hands out with so much Fansy? 'Tis to encourage Travellers, says he, and keep them from Cowardize and Despair:

Letting

Letting them know, at the ſame Time, that if they will but hold out, and ſtrive a little, they'll quickly be eaſy, and come into a good Road. Well! But when they come to the ſteep Aſcent, how do they get up, for I can't perceive any Way made for them? Theſe Women, ſays he, ſtep down a little, ſtoop for them, and ſo hale them up. Then their Guides order them to reſt a little, and ſoon after furniſh them with Strength and Spirits, promiſe to convey them to *true Knowledge*, give them a Proſpect of their Journey, and ſhew them how ſmooth and pleaſant, and free from all manner of Inconvenience the Road is. Really, ſaid I, it appears ſo to me. Don't you ſee, continues my Inſtructer, on this ſide that Grove there, a lovely Meadow, which looks ſo ſurprizingly bright as if it had a whole Sun of its own to make it beautiful. You need not queſtion my Eye-ſight, ſaid I, where ſuch an Object as that is lies before it. And don't you ſee another Pile of Building in the middle of this Field? I do; what do you call it, and who does it belong to? This is the Seat of the Fortunate, ſaid he; here all the moral Virtues keep their Court, and Happineſs is always in their Train. Say you ſo? This muſt needs be a delicate Place then. Right. But, to carry you farther, don't you perceive a handſome, middle-aged, matronly Woman by the Gate in a plain Dreſs? And if you obſerve her, ſhe ſtands upon a ſquare Stone, and not tottering upon a Globe; there are likewiſe two young Women on each ſide of her, which look as if they were her Daughters. Yes, ſaid I, by their Features and Complexion, one would think ſo. To expound them to you then, the Matron in the middle is *Knowledge* or *Learning*, the two others are, one of them *Truth*, and the other *Perſuaſion*.

But

But what makes the elder Lady ſtand upon a Stone like a Die? To ſhew the ſteddineſs of her Poſture, that People may know where to have her, and that her Favours are ſafe and ſignificant. Well explain'd; but pray what does ſhe preſent People with? Why, ſays he, ſhe gives them Aſſurance, and the Faculty of fearing nothing. And how do theſe Qualities operate? They give the Owners the Satisfaction to know they are out of Danger as long as they live. In earneſt, ſaid I, this Lady has an excellent Hand at making Preſents! But what makes her ſtand without the Gate? To cure thoſe that come hither, and give them her Cephalick Preſcription; and when the Potion has cleans'd their Conſtitution, ſhe brings them in, and preſents them to the Virtues. How is this? I don't rightly underſtand you. I'll clear it to you, ſays he; 'tis juſt as when a Patient dangerouſly ill is undertaken by a Phyſician: In the firſt Place the Doctor endeavours to remove the Cauſe, and diſcharge the morbifick Matter; and when this is done, Strength returns of Courſe, and the Man is ſet up: But if he won't take his Phyſick and be govern'd, 'tis no Wonder if he dies of the Diſtemper. I apprehend you, Sir, ſaid I. Thus, ſays he, when any one is brought to Learning and Philoſophy, ſhe falls to doctering of him preſently, gives him a purging Doſe out of her own *Diſpenſatory*, that all the ill Humours may be carry'd off in the firſt Place. And what are thoſe? They are Ignorance and Error, which *Impoſture* drench'd him with; they are Pride, Appetite and Intemperance, Anger and Avarice, and the reſt of that unfortunate Entertainment which he ſwallow'd in the firſt Court. And when he's well waſh'd within, whither does ſhe ſend him? Then he is permitted to enter this laſt Court,

Court, and introduced to *Science* and the other Virtues. And what may they be? Don't you ſee within the Gate, ſays he, a Company of handſome modeſt Women, without any thing of Dreſſing, Waſhes, or Expence about them? I ſee them, ſaid I; who are they? The firſt, ſays he, is Knowledge, the others, who are her Siſters, are Fortitude and Juſtice, Probity and Sobriety, Modeſty, Liberality and good Nature. In earneſt, ſaid I, fine Ladies all: Now methinks my Expectation begins to riſe conſiderably. If you mind what you hear, ſays he, and digeſt it into Practice, your Hopes are not ill founded. I'll do my beſt, take my Word for't. Do ſo, and then you'll ſucceed and be ſafe. But pray, ſaid I, whither do theſe Ladies lead the Man? To their Mother, ſays he: And, who is ſhe? They call her *Felicity*. *Felicity!* And what is her Buſineſs and Quality? Do you ſee, ſays he, the Path that leads us to the Mount there, where the Structure looks like a Fort for the Security of all the Courts? Yes. And is there not in the Porch a handſome young Lady ſitting in a Chair of State, dreſs'd like Quality, but not to any degree of Maggot or Curioſity? But if you mind her, the Crown upon her Head is particularly fine, both in the Matter and the Making. Truly, it ſeems to be juſt as you ſay. This Lady, ſays he, is *Felicity*. And when any body comes hither, what's her Buſineſs? She crowns him, ſays he, from her own Cabinet, and ſo do all the *Virtues* too, inſomuch that by his Reception you would take him for ſome great Conqueror, and that he had gone through *Hercules*'s twelve *Labours* at leaſt. And has he done any Thing like it? Yes indeed, he has got the better of ſeveral wild Beaſts of an extraordinary Bulk: Theſe were formerly his Maſters,

Masters, made him their Drudge, snap'd a Collop sometimes out of his Carcass, and used him at a miserable rate: But now he has fought himself into Liberty and Conquest, has them all at Command, and chains them up for Sight and Service. You awaken my Curiosity extremely; pray what sort of wild Beasts are they? In the first Place, says he, *Ignorance* and *Mistake*; now, whether you know it or not, these are great Beasts, and dangerous ones too, though they don't go, it may be, upon all four. Truly, said I, I think they are. The other Parts of his Conquest, continues he, are *Grief* and *Pain*, *Covetousness* and *Intemperance*, and all the whole Force of Vice besides. These are noble Exploits, said I, the *Olympick Games* can shew nothing like it; but I suppose this Champion's Crown is not altogether for Ornament, therefore pray tell me the Advantage in wearing it. You are to know then, young Gentlemen, says he, that it has a mighty satisfying Quality: He that has this Crown upon his Head is possest of Happiness; and which is more, 'tis of his own Growth too, without any Dependance upon his Neighbours. In earnest, 'tis glorious conquering at this rate; but how does the Man spend his Time, and whither does he go after he is thus crown'd? The *Virtues*, says he, receive him, and conduct him back to the Place where he was before, and here they shew him at what a rate of Scandal and Misery People live: How often they run their Heads against a Post, ramble from their Interest, and are led as it were in triumph by their Enemies. Some are made Prize of by *Debauchery*, some by *Arrogance* and *Ambition*, and some by *Covetousness*, &c. Neither is it in their Power to disengage themselves and make their Escape hither; but they continue rolling

rolling and reſtleſs till they tumble into their Graves: And all this happens, becauſe they can't pick out the right Way; for alas! they have forgotten the Advice the *Genius* gave them. What you ſay is not unlikely; but ſtill I'm at a Loſs why the *Virtues* ſhould lead this happy Man to the Place from whence he came? 'Tis to inform his Judgment, ſays he, and make him underſtand the World better. For, to deal clearly, *Error* and *Ignorance* had abuſed him before: And thus his Underſtanding being miſty and miſled, he was wildred in the Qualities of Things, and miſtook the Nature of Good and Evil; ſo that in ſhort he was in a great meaſure as irregular and unhappy as the reſt: But now, having gain'd a right Notion of Intereſt and Advantage, he ſees farther into the Follies and Miſery of other Men. Right, and when he has ſeen all this, how does he diſpoſe of himſelf? Juſt as he pleaſes: For let him go where he will, he is as ſafe as a Ship in a Harbour; and all People will be as glad of his Company as a *Patient* is of the Viſit of an able Doctor. What! won't he be afraid of thoſe ſcurvy Women any more, which you ſaid were like Bears in a Bear-garden? Not at all: He'll never be diſturb'd with *Pain* nor *Poverty*, with *Intemperance* or *Avarice*, nor any of that hoſtile Clan which made him uneaſy before; for he'll be perfectly impregnable againſt all manner of Attacks: And as no other Serpent dares venture upon thoſe who are bitten by a Viper, becauſe they are fortified by a ſuperiour Poyſon which is now turn'd to an Antidote; ſo this Man has always his Preſervative about him. What you ſay ſeems very reaſonable: But pray tell me who thoſe are that come down the Hill; ſome of them with Crowns on their Heads and Satisfaction in their Face; others are the Picture of Deſpair,

look

look somewhat maim'd and batter'd, and seem under the Guard of a Parcel of Women. Those crown'd, says he, are safe arriv'd at the Seat of *Philosophy*, and appear pleas'd with the Conversation of that Lady: But those who have no Sign of Success upon their Heads, are, some of them, turn'd back by *Philosophy* for being unqualified: Others miscarry for want of Industry and Spirit; and when they have strain'd up to *Patience*, quit the Advantage of the Progress, and ramble without Path or Direction. I understand you: But, what Women are those at the Heels of them? They represent, says he, *Grief* and *Pain*, *Despair*, *Ignominy*, and *Ignorance*. Say you so: Then the Men are in very bad Company. You're right: Now, when these People come back to the first Court, and return to *Luxury* and *Lewdness*, they make an odd Report of the Adventure, and blame *Philosophy*, and not themselves for their Miscarriage: They tell you that all who went upon these Discoveries are wretchedly harrass'd and disappointed; and never enjoy any of the Satisfactions which are to be met with at home. What Advantages are these? Why, in a word, debauching and regaling their Palates; for Gourmandizing, and the Liberties of a Brute are in their Esteem the supreme Satisfactions. They must take their Fansy; but, under Favour, who are those pleasant smiling Women that come from yonder Place? They call them *Opinions*, says he; their Business is to introduce those to *Instruction* who are upon the Road to the *Virtues*, and when they have convey'd them hither, they return to fetch more: And to encourage new Comers, they let them understand how happy those People are that took the Journey before them. Have these Women admittance to the *Virtues?* By no means; *Opinion* is never al-

low'd to appear in the Preſence of *Science:* However, they deliver up their Charge to *Learning* or *Inſtruction*; and when they have done, go back for freſh Company: Juſt like your Merchant-men, which when they are unladen, ſet ſail again, and are freighted with another Cargo. Without Flattery, ſaid I, you ſeem to explain theſe Matters very well: But you have not told me what Directions the *Genius*, or ſuperintending Spirit, gives thoſe who are juſt marching into Life. He bids them be bold, ſays he, and keep up their Spirits; and pray do you ſo, for I ſhall let you into the whole Buſineſs, and make no Omiſſions in the Relation. And here, holding out his Cane again, do you ſee that blind Woman, ſays he, ſtanding upon a Globe, who I told you was *Fortune?* Yes, we ſee her. The *Genius*, continues he, warns every body never to truſt this Woman, nor to reckon any Thing their own, or of any long Continuance, that comes from her: For the Grants of *Fortune* are always made with a Power of Revocation; and a Man that holds of her is a meer Tenant at Will, and may be turn'd out the next Day for ought he knows to the contrary: *Reſumptions* are very common with this Lady, and there's no depending upon her Favour; and therefore the *Genius* adviſes People to be looſe and indifferent with her, and neither be tranſported when ſhe gives, nor dejected when ſhe takes away: For ſhe never acts upon Reaſon, but throws out every Thing at Peradventure. Therefore the Rule is, never to be ſurpriz'd at any of her Proceedings; nor behave our ſelves like ſome unreaſonable Bankers, who when there's Money lodg'd in their Hands, are pleas'd with receiving it, and look upon it as their own; but when 'tis drawn out again, they are as much out of Humour as

if they had ſome real Injury done them; never remembring they are but Caſhiers, and that they were truſted with the Sum, upon Condition of repaying it upon Demand. Theſe Things the directing Spirit orders People to obſerve with reference to *Fortune*, whoſe Cuſtom it is to take away what ſhe has beſtow'd, and ſoon after to reſtore thrice as much; and it may be in a little time ſhe will turn ſhort again, carry off her laſt Bounty, and a great deal more into the Bargain. Upon theſe Conſiderations the *Genius* enjoins them to receive what they can of her, and make off with it forthwith in queſt of a more laſting Liberality. And where is this to be had? *Learning*, replies the Gentleman, will preſent them, provided they can get ſafe to her. Preſent them with what? With the Knowledge of what is really uſeful and ſignificant: Now this is a Favour that will ſtick by them, and there's no Fear of its being recall'd; and therefore the *Genius* bids them preſs forward for this Advantage as faſt as they can: And when they come up to thoſe Women, which I told you were call'd *Pleaſure* and *Intemperance*, they are order'd to paſs on, without making the leaſt Stop or Acquaintance, till they reach *pretended Learning*; and here they are to ſtay ſome Time, till ſhe has furniſh'd them with Conveniences for their Journey, and then to ſet forward to *true Learning* or *Philoſophy* with all Expedition. Theſe are the Directions of the *Genius*, which, whoſoever either neglects or miſtakes, is loſt and undone to all Intents and Purpoſes. Thus, Gentlemen, the Mythology of the *Picture* is explain'd to you; and if you have any Thing to aſk farther about the Argument, you are heartily welcome. Sir, ſaid I, ſince you give us this Freedom, pray what is it the *Genius* orders People to receive of *pretended*

Learning? Some Things that may be of Service to them if they pleaſe. What are thoſe? Letters, ſays he, and Scholarſhip, which being a handſome Amuſement, are, as *Plato* obſerves, a ſort of Reſtraint upon young People, and keep them ſometimes from flying out into Extravagance. Is there then a Neceſſity of touching upon this Coaſt in order to the arriving at *true Learning?* Not at all: They are uſeful indeed in ſome Reſpects, but as to the Point of Probity, they ſignify little. Do you ſay then they ſignify nothing towards Virtue and moral Improvement? I ſay a Man may be good without them, and yet they are not altogether uſeleſs. To illuſtrate the Matter: Though we may underſtand a Foreigner well enough by an *Interpreter*, yet it may not be amiſs to learn the Language our ſelves. Thus you ſee we may go on without the Advantages of Education. What then don't Mathematicians and other Scholars ſtand fairer for Degrees in Honeſty than other People? I can't ſee which Way, ſays he, ſince they miſtake the Nature of Good and Evil, and are as much govern'd by their Vices as the reſt of the World. For, to ſpeak freely, a Man may have abundance of fine Notions in his Head, and run thro' all the *Sciences*, as they call them, and yet love Wine, and Women, and Money a great deal too much. In ſhort, he may be admirably furniſh'd this Way, and yet be a Fop, a Knave, or a Traitor, if he has not a Care: I'm ſorry to ſay there are not a few Men of *Letters* liable to this Imputation. And ſince the Caſe ſtands thus, what Advantage have they in reference to *Virtue* above others? Truly not much, as you have repreſented the Matter. But, under favour, what's the Reaſon then theſe Gentlemen are lodg'd in the *Second Court*; for by their Apartments they ſeem to be

next Neighbours to *true Knowledge?* And what of all that, says he? Don't you see several pass immediately from *Debauchery* to *true Knowledge*, from the first Court to the third, without making a Visit to these Gentlemen of Education? And in what then does their Privilege consist? In earnest, I think they are either more lazy or more untoward than the rest in learning the Lesson they should do. How so, said I? Because, says he, those in the *Second Court* pretend to know more than they really do: Now, their being thus conceited in their Ignorance, makes them more sluggish in their Advances to *true Knowledge* than otherwise they would be. Besides, don't you observe, that *Opinion* and *Uncertainty* are perpetually trudging to them out of the *First Court?* So that in fine they are not a jot better than other Mortals, unless *Repentance* calls in at their Lodgings, and they grow fully convinced, that 'tis only *sham Learning* which they have been all this while amus'd with, and that unless they mend their Manners and their Company, 'tis impossible for them not to miscarry. And therefore, Gentlemen, says he, I hope you'll remember this Discourse, comply with the Directions, and practise them up to a Habit: Indeed, all other Business is but trifling to this; but you must frequently recollect your Memory, and take Pains with your selves, otherwise what you have heard will do you no Service. We shall endeavour to take your Advice: But I desire you would explain your self a little upon the Notion of *Advantage*, and how the common Liberalities of *Fortune* can be said not to be *Good*; such as Life, Health, Riches, Fame, Posterity, Victory, *&c.* And how the contrary to these can be maintain'd not to be *Evil?* To assert this, I must needs say, is all Riddle and

Paradox to me. To satisfy you, says he, I shall ask you a few Questions, and pray speak your Mind freely in your Answer. I shall do it. What do you think then in case a Man lives ill; is Life any Advantage to him? No truly, said I, 'tis rather a Disadvantage. Very well, says he, then bare living, without other Considerations, is no Privilege: 'Tis a good Thing to those that live well, but a Misfortune to others. Under favour, do you affirm that Life is Advantage and Disadvantage too? I do. Pray, said I, have a care of an Absurdity; for 'tis impossible the same Thing should be both good and bad; at this rate it would be profitable and prejudicial, and the Object of Choice and Aversion at the same Time. That is Absurdity enough, says he, in all Conscience: But pray, if living ill is a Michief to him that's guilty on't, does it follow from hence, that Life, precisely taken, has any harm in't? Indeed, I can't say both these Cases are the same. Why then, Life is no bad Business; if it were, those who live well would lie under the Misfortune, for they live no less than other People. Truly, you seem to argue reasonably enough. Therefore, says he, since Life is common both to good and bad People, it must be indifferent of it self, and the Use must determine the Quality. 'Tis much like Lancing and Burning, the Season and the Application makes the Distinction; if a Man be well, it does him a Mischief, but an Ulcer or an Imposthume is much the better for a skilful Hand. To put another Question to you; had you rather live scandalously, or die bravely? I had rather die upon those Terms. You answer like a Man: From hence it follows, that Death is no Evil, because 'tis sometimes more eligible than living. You are right. The same reasoning, continues my Instruct-

er,

er, will hold with reference to Health and Diſeaſes; for the former is ſometimes a Misfortune to a Man, and as Circumſtances may happen, he had much better have been ſick in his Bed. I can't deny what you ſay. Let us go on, ſays he, and examine the Caſe of Riches: And here a very little reaſoning will ſerve the turn; for Matter of Fact, when 'tis frequent and viſible, needs no Proof: Now, nothing is more common than to ſee wealthy People live ſcandalouſly and miſerably. Ay, that's but too true. Then Riches does them no Service in order to Virtue and Happineſs. It ſeems ſo, otherwiſe they would manage better. Well then, 'tis Precept and Principles, not an Eſtate, which makes Men good for ſomething. Indeed I think ſo. Which Way then, ſays he, can Wealth be a real Advantage, if it can't improve the Owners, nor contribute to the making them better Men? I can't tell. By your Conceſſion, an Eſtate muſt be a Diſadvantage to thoſe who know not how to uſe it. Yes, without all doubt. How then can that be abſolutely a good Thing, when a Man is ſometimes the better for being without it. From hence it follows, that a Perſon that has Honeſty and Diſcretion to his Fortune, may make ſomething on't; but unleſs he is thus qualified, he is only furniſh'd with edg'd Tools to cut his Fingers. To conclude, the over-rating theſe Things is that which diſorders human Life, and ruins the World: For when People fanſy they can't be happy without ſuch Circumſtances, they'll boggle at no Wickedneſs to come at them; and all this Miſchief is occaſion'd for want of a right Notion of what is *really Good*.

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